THE

FOREIGN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.— *Actenmässige Darstellung merkwürdiger Verbrechen.* Von Anselm Ritter von Feuerbach. (Remarkable Criminal Trials from the Original Documents. By Anselm Chevalier von Feuerbach.) 2 Bde. Giessen. 1828, 1829. 8vo.

IT is a story told, we think, of George Selwyn, that after remonstrating with a friend on the bad taste of being present at an execution which was expected to take place in the course of the day, he was shortly afterwards detected in a slouched hat and great coat in the immediate neighbourhood of the scaffold. The case is much the same with the perusal of the annals of crime; all the world declaims against such reading, and yet all the world secretly yields to its deep and fascinating interest. We are not of course speaking of such publications as the Newgate Calendar, or similar collections, where the attention of the reader is confined to the more immediate details of the crime itself, and to the catastrophe of the tragedy, omitting all the motives or struggles which had occupied the preceding acts,—every thing in short which gives a moral interest to what was in itself painful or degrading. Such publications, we are satisfied, are calculated only to demoralize, or at best to furnish a coarse and vulgar excitement to the mind. But the case is otherwise, when the records of crime, selected and arranged by men of legal skill and philosophical acuteness, are laid before the public, in such a shape as to form so many accurate and continuous pictures of the human mind under circumstances of strong excitement and temptation, to illustrate the mode in which crime is stripped of its disguises and brought forth to light and punishment, and to reduce to some order the anomalies or difficulties which embarrass the science of evidence. It is in itself an operation of no common interest, to watch the progress of a chain of evidence from its commencement to its conclusion; to see how, link by link, it stretches itself out before the eye of the spectator, first feeble and disjointed, then gradually becoming firmer and more compact; how at times it seems suddenly to snap asunder, and all the past labour of the legal anvil to

be rendered void; how some unexpected accident again reclasps the fragments, and knits the whole together, till at last, complete in all its parts, it winds itself with an iron grasp round the accused. But a far more interesting exhibition is the picture which such a work exhibits of the secret counsels of the heart, disclosed with a nakedness of truth which we look for in vain in works of fiction, and with that minuteness and certainty which history can but seldom obtain. For history in general is but a distant echo of the vague opinions and conjectures of the time as to events, the true motives of which were concealed, perhaps, scarcely rendered clear to the actors themselves by any self examination, and, at best, suspected only, not avowed or established. "Where the most complete historical account," says Schiller, in his preface to the intended republication of Guyot de Pitaval's *Causes Célèbres*, "fails to afford us any satisfactory information as to the ultimate causes of a particular event, or the true motives of the actors, the records of a criminal proceeding often reveal to us their inmost thoughts, and expose the most secret machinations of evil to the day." It is, indeed, the torch of justice, which, when held up by a steady and experienced hand, best illuminates the dark chambers and winding avenues of the mind; and its strong arm which most effectually drags forth to the light the passions by which they are haunted: a grisly host—like that which Mammon showed to Sir Guyon before the gates of Pluto.

"On the other side, in one consort there sate,
Cruel Revenge and rancorous Despight,
Disloyal Treason and heart-burning Hate;
And gnawing Jealousy, out of their sight,
Sitting alone, his bitter lips did bite;
And trembling Feare still to and fro did fly,
And found no place where safe he shroud him might;
Lamenting Sorrow did in darkness lie,
And Shame his ugly face did hide from human eye."

In the contemplation of this play of the passions there painted in all the terrors of truth, those who feel how much all of us partake of one common and fallible nature, and how little even the best of us can understand what is in us, or answer for our principles under the pressure of strong temptation, must find subjects for meditation, or lessons of moral and religious wisdom. Sometimes they may watch the slow growth of crime in a mind naturally gentle and benevolent, but warped by misfortune or disappointment; in others, where the soil was of a more noxious kind, they may see it, like Satan's palace in Pandemonium, rising at once "like an exhalation;" and sometimes too, as if to refute the old notion that all crimes are gradual, and that no one has at once

reached the extremity of guilt, they will witness instances where, in beings who had through life preserved a high character, and apparently with justice, some sudden convulsion, shaking the mind from its balance, has developed the lurking principle of evil: as strange and frightful sights "that in the ooze were bedded," and over which the waters of the ocean in its ordinary flow had rolled tranquilly for years, may be suddenly stirred up from the bottom by an earthquake, and cast upon the shore.

This species of interest will be found to a certain extent to attach to all collections of Trials, arranged upon any refined or comprehensive principle; but it is chiefly in those of the Continent that materials suited to the purposes of philosophical observation or classification are found in sufficient abundance, or with sufficiently satisfactory and circumstantial details. In as far certainly as regards the investigation of motives, or the gratification of that curiosity with which such aberrations of mind are regarded by the student of human nature, they manage these things better in France and Germany; though it may be much more doubtful whether, in practice, their system of judicial investigation is not carried to a length inconsistent with justice to the prisoner, or the purity of the law itself. In England no attention is paid to any thing beyond the circumstances *directly* connected with the commission of the crime; what has been heard or seen by the witnesses present at the time or immediately before; and if these throw no light upon the motives of the prisoner, the law takes no further steps to clear up the doubt. No inferences are drawn from the past to the present; the former life of the prisoner, his general character, habits, and inclinations are excluded from consideration. But in Germany, with which we have at present to do, the inquiry stretches backward over an indefinite period; the accused is traced perhaps from his cradle to his prison; his early passions and youthful errors, as well as his matured opinions and habits, are all considered as so many circumstances from which presumptions as to his guilt or innocence of the particular charge against him may be drawn. In this way, although much must necessarily be left to the discretion, good-sense, and perspicacity of the judge, whether any or what weight is to be given to such presumptions, and although instances of gross abuse arising from judicial blindness or wilful prejudice do not unfrequently occur, from the admission of much that is not evidence at all in any legitimate sense, it cannot be denied that the ample and circumstantial detail which is the result of these comprehensive examinations gives to the annals of German Criminal Jurisprudence—as contributions to the natural history of crime—a completeness and connection, a regular and progressive interest, which it is in

vain to expect from the reports of similar proceedings in our own country. Added to this, the distance of the scene of action, like distance of time, produces a certain softening effect upon the atrocities with which we are conversant, and what would have been read with a mixture of interest and disgust had it happened in St. Giles's or Tottenham Court Road, becomes invested with a character of romance when the scene is laid on the banks of the Rhine, or in the recesses of the Black Forest.

The present collection is the work of Feuerbach, one of the most distinguished of the German jurists, who was one of those employed in 1804 to prepare a Criminal Code for Bavaria, and who now holds with distinguished ability the office of President of the Court of Appeal in the circle of Retz. His situation, therefore, was one which fortunately divested him of all concern in the mere preparation or getting up of criminal causes, (a matter which, from the way in which such preparation is usually carried on, is of no small importance in reference to the impartiality of those engaged in it, or their fitness afterwards to deal with the evidence so collected,) and enabled him to come to the consideration of the subject only when the proof had been matured and concluded, while it authorized him also to deliver his own sentiments without reserve as to the views of those tribunals by which in the first instance the case had been tried. The remarks which he occasionally makes, whether relating to the legal or moral character of the offence, or the nature of the proof and the sufficiency of the evidence, are in general equally distinguished by good feeling and goodsense, and characterized by that independence which might be expected from the successful opponent of the torture, and the advocate of so many other improvements in the law of his country. The chief defect in his book is, that in narrating the different trials he does not follow the natural order in which the circumstances presented themselves to the judge, which has always the effect of stimulating curiosity by leaving the reader in the same uncertainty with the judge until the final issue; but on the contrary, that in the outset he generally lets us into the character of the accused by anticipating matters which were not revealed until long after in the course of the proof. In this particular we shall take the liberty of departing from Feuerbach in the extracts we have to make, and follow the natural order in which the events of each particular case unfolded themselves in the course of the examination.

The very first case in these volumes is one of an extraordinary nature; a pendant to that of the Marchioness of Brinvilliers, and scarcely inferior to it in complicated atrocity, though the heroine moved in a humbler walk of life.

In 1808, a widow, about fifty years old, resident at Pegnitz, and bearing the name of Anna Schonleben, was received as housekeeper into the family of the Justiz-Amptmann Glaser, who had for some time previous been living separate from his wife. Shortly after the commencement of her service, however, a partial reconciliation took place, in a great measure effected through the exertions of Schonleben, and the wife returned to her husband's house. But their reunion was of short duration, for in the course of four weeks after her return she was seized with a sudden and violent illness, of which in a day or two she expired.

On this event Schonleben quitted the service of Glaser, and was received in the same capacity into that of the Justiz-Amptmann Grohmann, then unmarried. Though only thirty-eight years of age, he was in delicate health, and had suffered severely from the gout, so that Schonleben had an opportunity of showing by the extreme care and attention which she bestowed upon his comforts, her qualifications for the office she had undertaken. Her cares, however, it seemed were unavailing; her master fell sick in spring, 1809, his disease being accompanied with violent internal pains of the stomach, dryness of the skin, vomiting, &c. and he died on the 8th May, after an illness of eleven days. Schonleben, who had attended him with unremitting attention during his illness, administering all his medicines with her own hand, appeared inconsolable for his loss,—and that of her situation.

The high character, however, which she had acquired for her prudence, care and gentleness as a sick-nurse, immediately procured her another in the family of the Kammer-Amptmann Gebhard, whose wife was at that time on the point of being confined. This event took place on the 13th May, shortly after the entry of the new housekeeper, who made herself particularly useful, and mother and child were going on extremely well, when on the third day after the birth, the lady was seized with spasms, internal heat, violent thirst, vomiting, &c. In the extremity of her agony she frequently exclaimed that they had given her poison. Seven days after her confinement she expired.

Gebhard, the widower, left without any one to take the management of his domestic affairs, thought that, in the meantime, he could not do better than retain in his service the housekeeper, who, during his wife's illness, had distinguished herself so much by the zeal and assiduity of her attentions to the invalid. Some of his friends attempted to dissuade him from retaining an inmate, who seemed by some fatality to bring death into every family with which she became connected; but Gebhard, who was not of a superstitious turn, laughed at their apprehensions, and Schonleben remained in his house, now invested with almost unlimited authority.

During her residence here, many circumstances occurred, which, though at the time they excited little attention, were subsequently recollected and satisfactorily established. These will be hereafter alluded to: meantime we proceed to that which first directed suspicion against her. Gebhard had, at last, by the importunity of a friend, who (from what ground he did not explain) had advised him to dismiss his housekeeper, been prevailed on to take his advice, and had communicated as gently as possible his resolution to Schonleben herself. She received it without any observation, except an expression of surprise at the suddenness with which he had changed his mind, and the next day was fixed for her departure for Bayreuth. Meantime she bustled about as usual, arranged the rooms, and filled the salt-box in the kitchen, observing that it was the custom for those who went away to do so for their successors. On the morning of her departure, as a token of her good will, she made coffee for the maids, supplying them with sugar from a paper of her own. The coach, which her master had been good-natured enough to procure for her, was already at the door. She took his child, now twenty weeks old, in her arms, gave it a biscuit soaked in milk, caressed it, and took her leave. Scarcely had she been gone half an hour, when both the child and the servants were seized with violent retching, which lasted for some hours, leaving them extremely weak and ill. Suspicion being now at last fairly awakened, Gebhard had the salt-box examined which Schonleben had so officiously filled. The salt was found strongly impregnated with arsenic. In the salt barrel also, from which it had been taken, thirty grains of arsenic were found, mixed with about three pounds of salt.

That the series of sudden deaths which had occurred in the families in which Schonleben had resided, was owing to poison, now occurred to every one as clear; and they almost wondered how so many circumstances could have passed before their eyes without awakening them to the truth. During her residence with Gebhard, it appeared that two visitors who had dined with her master, in Aug. 1809, were seized after dinner with the same symptoms of vomiting, convulsions, spasms, &c. which had affected the servants on the day of Schonleben's departure, and of which the more unfortunate mistress of the family had expired; that on one occasion she had given a glass of white wine to Rosenhauer, a servant who had called with a message, which had occasioned similar symptoms, so violent indeed as to oblige him for a day or two to confine himself to bed; that on another, she had taken a lad of nineteen, Johann Kraus, into the cellar, where she offered him a glass of brandy, which, after tasting and perceiving a white sediment within it, he declined; that one of the servants, Barbara Waldmann, with whom Schonleben had frequent quarrels,

after drinking a cup of coffee, was seized with exactly the same symptoms as her companions; and what, perhaps, appeared the most extraordinary of all, that at a party given by her master on the 1st Sept. having occasion to send her to his cellar for some pitchers of beer, he himself, and all the guests that partook of it, five in number, were almost immediately afterwards seized with the usual spasms, sickness, &c., which seemed to accompany the use of those liquids whenever they were dispensed by Schonleben.

Although from the long period which had elapsed since the death of those individuals, whose fate there was reason to suppose had been so prematurely accelerated by this smooth-faced poisoner, there was no great probability that any light would be thrown upon these dark transactions by an inspection of the bodies, it was resolved on at all events to give the matter a trial. The result of this ghastly examination, however, was more decisive than could have been expected; all the bodies exhibited in a greater or less degree those appearances, which modern researches into the effects of poisons have shown to be produced by the use of arsenic; and in one of them in particular, that of the wife of Glaser, the arsenic was still capable of being detected in substance. On the whole, the medical inspectors felt themselves warranted in concluding, that the deaths of at least two individuals out of the three had been occasioned by poison.

Meantime Schonleben had been living quietly at Bayreuth, seemingly quite unconscious of the storm which was gathering around her. Her finished hypocrisy even led her, while on the road, to write a letter to her late master, reproaching him with his ingratitude in dismissing one who had been a protecting angel to his child; and in passing through Nurnberg, to take up her residence with the mother of her victim, the wife of Gebhard. On reaching Bayreuth she again wrote more than once to Gebhard; the object of her letters evidently being to induce him again to receive her back into his family. She made a similar attempt on her former master Glaser, but without success. While engaged in these negotiations the warrant arrived for her apprehension, and she was taken into custody on the 19th Oct. On examining her person three packets were found in her pocket, two of them containing fly-powder, and the third arsenic.

For a long time she would confess nothing;—evading with great ingenuity, or resisting with obstinacy every attempt to obtain from her any admission of her guilt. It was not till the 16th April, 1810, that her courage gave way, when she learned the result of the examination of the body of Glaser. Then at last, weeping and wringing her hands, she confessed that she had on two occasions administered poison to her. No sooner had this

confession been uttered, than she fell to the ground "as if struck by lightning," says Feuerbach, and was removed in strong convulsions from the chamber.

We shall condense into a short connected statement the substance of the numerous examinations which this wretch subsequently underwent, and of the information acquired from other sources by which her statements were in many particulars modified, and in some points refuted. Born in Nurnberg in 1760, she had lost both her parents before she reached her fifth year. Her father had possessed some property, and till her 19th year she remained under the charge of her guardian, who was warmly attached to her, and bestowed much care on her education. At the age of nineteen, she married, rather against her inclination, the notary Zwanziger, for such, not Schonleben, was her real name; the loneliness and dulness of her matrimonial life contrasted very disagreeably with the gaieties of her guardian's house; and in the absence of her husband, who divided his time between business and the bottle, she dispelled her ennui by sentimental novel-reading, weeping over the sorrows of Werter, and the struggles of Pamela and Emilia Galotti. The property which fell to her on her coming of age was soon dissipated by her husband and herself in extravagant entertainments and an expensive establishment, and a few years saw them sunk in wretchedness, with a family to support, and without even the comfort of mutual cordiality or esteem,—for the admirer of Pamela, whose sympathetic heart had bled for the Sorrows of Werter, now attempted to prop the falling establishment by making the best use she could of her personal attractions, (which hideous and repulsive as she appeared at the time of her trial, she described as having once been very considerable,) while her husband, as mean and grovelling in adversity as he had been assuming and over-bearing in prosperity, was a patient spectator of his own dishonour. Perhaps it was consoling to him, as it appeared to have been to his wife, that she "had the delicacy," as she styled it, "to confine her favours to the higher classes of society." At all events, shortly afterwards he died, leaving his widow to pursue her career of vice and deceit alone. During the time which intervened between the death of her husband, and that when she first entered the service of Glaser, her life had been one continued scene of licentiousness and hypocrisy. Devoid of principle from the first, mingling chiefly with others who, though of respectable or exalted rank, were as destitute of it as herself; forced to pretend attachment where none was felt; to submit where she would willingly have ruled; sometimes laughed at or treated with ingratitude where she was really labouring to please;

a wanderer on the earth for twenty years without a resting-place or a sincere friend; she became at last a habitual hypocrite, to whom falsehood seemed to be actually more natural than truth. Rage and disappointment at her fate, and a bitter hatred against mankind, seemed to have gradually been maturing in her heart; till at last all the better sympathies of her nature were poisoned, and nothing remained but the determination to better her condition at the expense of all those ties which humanity holds most sacred. When and how the idea of poison dawned on her—whether suddenly, or by degrees, her confessions did not explain; but there is every reason to believe that this tremendous agent had been employed by her previous to her appearance in Glaser's house. Determined as she was at all hazards to advance her own interests, poison seemed to furnish her at once with the talisman she was in search of;—it punished her enemies, it removed those who stood in her way;—its operation afforded her the means of rendering her good qualities conspicuous in her affected sympathy for the sufferer;—nay, administered in smaller quantities by her experienced hand, it was equally effectual in preventing a second visit from a disagreeable guest, or annoying a fellow servant with whom she had a quarrel. By long acquaintance poison had become so familiar to her, that she seemed to look on it as a useful friend; something equally available for seriousness or jest; and to which she was indebted for many a trusty and secret service. When the arsenic which had been taken from her pocket was exhibited to her some months afterwards at Culmbach, she seemed to tremble with delight; her eyes glistened as she gazed upon it, as if she recognised a friend from whom she had long been separated. Of the crimes which she had perpetrated, too, she always spoke as of slight indiscretions, rendered almost necessary by circumstances,—so completely by repetition had murder itself lost its character of horror.

From the first moment she had entered the house of Glaser, the idea of obtaining an influence over his mind, so as to secure him as her husband, had occurred to her. That he was then married was immaterial: poison would be the speediest process of divorce. First, however, the victim must be brought within the range of her power; hence her anxiety to effect the reconciliation of the pair, and the return of the wife to her husband's house. The plan succeeded, and within a few weeks after her return, Zwanziger commenced her operations. Two successive doses were administered, of which the last was effectual. "While she was mixing it," she said, "she encouraged herself with the notion that she was preparing for herself a comfortable establishment in her old age." This prospect having been defeated by

her dismissal from Glaser's service, she entered that of Grohmann. Here her common mode of revenging herself upon such of her fellow servants as she happened to dislike, was to mix fly-powder with the beer in the cellar, in the hope of creating illness, though not death; and of this beer it happened more than once that some of the visitors at Grohmann's table also partook. These, however, were mere preparations "to keep her hand in;" the victim for whom her serious poisons were reserved was her unfortunate master. Here also she had for some time indulged the hope of a matrimonial connexion; infirm and gouty as he was, she thought she would obtain such an ascendancy over him as to induce him to descend to this alliance; when all at once her hopes were blasted by hearing of his intended marriage with another. For some time she tried by every means in her power to break off the connexion: but her arts proved ineffectual, and Grohmann, provoked by her pertinacity, had mentioned to a friend that he could no longer think of retaining her in his service. The wedding day was fixed;—all hopes of preventing the marriage were at an end;—and nothing now remained for her but revenge. In five days afterwards Grohmann fell a victim to poison.

From this service Zwanziger passed into that of Gebhard, whose wife soon shared the fate of Grohmann; for no other reason, according to her own account, than because that lady had treated her harshly, and occasionally found fault with her management of the house. Even this wretched apology was contradicted by the facts proved by the other inmates of the house. The true motive, as in the preceding cases, was, that she had formed designs upon Gebhard similar to those which had failed in the case of Glaser, and that the unfortunate lady stood in the way. Her death was accomplished by poisoning two pitchers of beer from which Zwanziger from time to time supplied her with drink. Nay, even her husband was made the innocent instrument of his wife's death by administering the same liquid to the invalid. Even while confessing that she had thus poisoned the beer, she persisted in maintaining that she had no intention of destroying the unfortunate lady;—if she could have foreseen that such a consequence would have followed, she would rather have died!

During the remaining period, from the death of Gebhard's wife to that of her quitting his service, she admitted having frequently administered poisoned beer, wine, coffee, and other liquids, to such guests as she disliked, or to her fellow servants, when any of them had the misfortune to fall under her displeasure. The poisoning of the salt box she also admitted; but with that strange and inveterate hypocrisy which ran through all her confessions,

she maintained that the arsenic in the salt barrel must have been put in by some other person.

The fate of such a wretch could not of course be doubtful; she was condemned to be beheaded, and listened to the sentence apparently without emotion. She told the judge that her death was a fortunate thing for others, for she felt that she could not have left off poisoning had she lived. On the scaffold she bowed courteously to the judge and assistants, walked calmly up to the block, and received the blow without shrinking.

We come next to a case of a very singular nature, to which Feuerbach gives the name of "The Unknown Murderer, or the Police at fault." It is interesting chiefly from the complete perplexity in which the reader is left at the conclusion, as to the agent or the motives which led to the crime, after his curiosity has been raised by glimpses of light which seem for a time likely to lead to the truth, but prove at last to be mere *ignes fatui*, successively disappearing, and leaving the matter involved in the same darkness and mystery as before.

The event to which we allude took place in 1817, in the town of M——. In that place resided a goldsmith named Christopher Ruprecht, aged upwards of sixty: rich, illiterate, quarrelsome, covetous; rude in speech, vulgar in his habits, whose chief indulgence consisted in frequenting low ale-houses, and mingling in such haunts with the most disreputable of the lower classes. His selfishness and his repulsive manners had alienated from him all his relations, with the exception of a sister and a daughter, who was married in the town, and who still continued, as much from interest perhaps as affection, notwithstanding his peculiarities of temper, to visit him regularly.

Ruprecht had for some time past selected, as the favourite inn in which he chose to take his ease, a small ale-house at the end of a dark winding lane, which, from its gloomy situation, bore the appropriate title of Hell. About half-past eight o'clock on the evening of the 7th of February, 1817, he repaired thither according to custom, took his seat among the circle which generally assembled round the inn fire on the first floor, and in his usual petulant and ill-tempered style, joined in the conversation, which was prolonged till past ten o'clock, when Ruprecht despatched the landlord to the ground floor for a farther supply of beer. As the landlord was reascending the stairs, a voice from the passage below was heard inquiring if Ruprecht was above; and on the landlord answering (without turning his head) that he was, he was requested by the person below to desire him to come down. No sooner was the message delivered to Ruprecht, than he rose and

hastily left the room. A minute had hardly elapsed when the company heard distinctly from the passage below, loud groans, followed by a sound as of a heavy body falling in the passage. All hurried down stairs to the number of eleven. Ruprecht was found lying near the house door still alive, but covered with blood flowing from a large wound on his head; his leather cap at a little distance, which had been cut through by the blow. The only sounds which he uttered, when lifted up, were "The villain,—the villain with the axe." And once afterwards, "My daughter, my daughter." She was immediately sent for; but his mind apparently wandered, and he did not recognise her.

No trace of the assassin appeared in the neighbourhood; no weapon was found in the passage or near the door. The wound, when examined, was found to be one inflicted with a sharp instrument—to be about four inches long, extending along the top of the head, but sinking towards the back, upon the left side of the skull, and deeper at the bottom than the top. That it had not been given in the passage seemed pretty clear; first, from the circumstance that a lamp always burned there, and servants were constantly crossing and recrossing; secondly, that to have inflicted such a wound, the blow must have fallen with great force from behind and from above; while the lowness of the roof, which any one might touch with his hand, would have rendered it impossible for the murderer, in such a position, to have raised his arm so as to have directed his weapon with any force against his victim. From the position, too, in which Ruprecht was found, immediately behind the house-door, which was open, the probability was, that the fatal blow had been given without the door, and that Ruprecht, after receiving it, had been able to stagger back into the passage. The house, as already mentioned, stood at the extreme corner of an obscure lane, to which there was no access from the other side. Two steps led to the door in front, and on the left side of these steps was a stone seat, about two feet in height, and standing on these steps, apparently, the murderer had awaited him, and when the goldsmith came to the steps in front of the door, directed his blow at him from this "bad eminence" behind.

With what weapon the blow had been inflicted was not so clear. The unconnected expressions of Ruprecht seemed to point at an axe as the instrument; but the opinion of the medical inspector rather was, that the blow had been given by a heavy sabre, and by an experienced hand.

In the mean time all that could be done further was to wait in hopes that the wounded man would so far recover his senses as to be able to throw some light upon this atrocious deed. On

the evening of the following day, he appeared sufficiently in his senses to warrant the judge in commencing his examination. The wounded man's answers were given in monosyllables. He was asked,—"Who struck you?" "Schmidt." "What is this Schmidt—where does he reside?" "In the *Most*."* "With what did he strike you?" "A hatchet." "How did you know him?" "By his voice." "Was he indebted to you?" He shook his head. "What was his motive?" "Quarrel." From the state of exhaustion in which he appeared to be, the judge did not interrogate him further at the time as to the nature of the quarrel. To the first and second interrogatories, which were repeated, he again distinctly answered "Schmidt,—wood-cutter." And he gave the same answer to similar questions put to him afterwards, in presence of the officials, by his daughter, sister, and son-in-law.

Who then was Schmidt, whom the dying man had denounced as his murderer? Schmidt is as common a name in Germany as Smith in England; and accordingly it turned out that there were three Schmidts in the town, all wood-cutters. One of them, Abraham Christopher Schmidt, resided in the Hohen Pflaster; the other two, who were brothers, lived in the street called the Most, or the Walch, to which the wounded man appeared to have alluded. With regard to the first, it was ascertained that he laboured under the charge of having been in early youth connected with a gang of thieves, and having been imprisoned in consequence;—the second, who went by the name of the Great Schmidt, had been an old acquaintance of Ruprecht's, but had ceased to be so in consequence of having given evidence against him in an action of damages;—the third, who was distinguished from his brother by the name of the Little Schmidt, was also an acquaintance of Ruprecht's, but one with whom he had never appeared to be on good terms.

Before proceeding to the arrest of any of these individuals, Ruprecht, who had in the meantime undergone the operation of trepanning, was again examined. When asked, in addition to the former questions, to which he gave the same answers,—which of the Schmidts he meant, the Great or the Little, he made some attempts to speak, but failed. When asked again whether he resided on the Most,—he was silent. Was it upon the Hohen Pflaster? He answered with difficulty, but distinctly, "Yes;" and then relapsed into insensibility.

As he thus wavered between the inhabitants of the Most and that of the Hohen Pflaster, it was evident that all the three Schmidts

* The name of a street in the town, also called the Walch.

must be taken into custody. They were accordingly apprehended, with the view of being confronted with the wounded man, and the murderer, if possible, identified by him. When they were brought into his room, Ruprecht was sensible, but unable to lift up his eyes, so that the main object of the interview was baffled. There were differences, however, in the behaviour of these individuals, which, while they tended to avert suspicion from two of them, directed it with increasing force against the third. The two brothers appeared perfectly composed;—they spoke to Ruprecht, called him by name, and expressed their sympathy for his situation. Not so the Schmidt of the Hohen Pflaster. He seemed agitated and restless;—when asked if he knew the person in bed, he first said he did not,—then that it was Ruprecht, and that he knew him well;—first, that he remained with his mother-in-law, on the evening of the murder, till eleven; then, that he had left his house at nine, and gone instantly to bed. He protested his innocence and ignorance of the whole matter, and appealed to the testimony of his mother-in-law, his wife, and his neighbours. His evident agitation, and his contradictions, which he did not make any farther attempt to reconcile, appeared to the judge sufficient grounds for subjecting him to the provisional arrest, and on the 10th of February he was committed to prison.

On the following day all hope of eliciting further information from Ruprecht was put an end to by his death. After the interview already mentioned he never recovered his senses.

Subsequent investigations tended to increase the suspicions against Christopher Schmidt which his behaviour on the first occasion had awakened. On inspecting his house, the handle of his axe, near the blade, was found to be streaked with red spots resembling blood. The truth of the report as to his former imprisonment for theft he did not attempt to deny; though he alleged that he had been merely made the innocent instrument of conveying the stolen property into town. His inconsistencies and contradictions on his first summary examination were still more startling and irreconcilable than those into which he had run when confronted with Ruprecht. When asked to explain how he knew the wounded man to be Ruprecht, since he stated he had never seen him before,—he gave no other explanation except that he had heard before of the accident which had befallen him, as it was the general theme of conversation at the Boar.* To the question where he had been on Friday night, he first answered that he had been along with his wife and child in the

* A little ale-house, in which he stated he had been the day after the event.

house of his mother-in-law, where they were accustomed to work in the evenings, to avoid the expense of light at home, till 9 o'clock, when he had taken his child home, and gone to bed, where he had remained till next morning at seven; that his wife had not returned till ten, having had to work a little longer with her mother, and entrusted the child to his care. "But," said the judge, "yesterday you said you did not return till eleven o'clock."—"Yes, at eleven—I returned with my wife." "A few minutes ago you said you returned at nine, and that your wife remained behind you; now how do you explain this?" "My neighbours will testify I returned at nine. My wife remained for a short time behind me—she returned after ten, when I was asleep;—she must have come in by using the key of the street door."—"The key of the street door, you said a little ago, was in your mother's possession, in the house;—how could your wife, who was at her mother's, have used it to obtain admission?" "She had the key with her. I said my wife returned along with me at nine o'clock, assisted me to put the child to bed, then took the house key off the table, and returned to her mother's. She came back at eleven o'clock at night." "Just now, you said at ten." "I was asleep; it may have been ten."

These irreconcilable contradictions as to the hour at which he himself had returned,—which he sometimes stated to be nine, sometimes eleven;—as to his returning alone or in company with his wife; as to the hour at which she had returned, and the mode by which she had obtained admittance;—his previous imprisonment; his conduct when confronted with Ruprecht; and during his examinations his downcast and suspicious look; his anxiety to avoid any lengthened explanations; the spots upon his axe; the dying expressions of Ruprecht as to the name and residence of his murderer; all these, taken together, formed a most suspicious combination of circumstances against Schmidt.

On the other hand, the very grossness of these contradictions seemed to lead to the inference that they must have proceeded rather from want of memory, of intellect, or self-possession, than from a desire to pervert the truth. It was unlikely that any one but a person whose intellectual faculties were weakened or disordered either by natural deficiency or temporary anxiety and fear, or both, should in the course of half an hour vary his account of the time at which he returned home, from nine to eleven, from eleven to nine; or at one moment represent himself as returning alone, the next in company with his wife. The report of his relations and neighbours proved that such was the character of Schmidt; that his dulness of intellect almost amounted to idiocy, and that his serious, quiet, sheepish manner, had procured

him the nickname of "Hammela," or the sheep. It was not difficult, then, to believe that a man who, according to these accounts, never was able under any circumstances to express himself clearly, or almost intelligibly, when suddenly apprehended, confronted with a dying man, imprisoned and examined, called upon to explain contradictions, should at once lose the little remnant of composure or intellect that remained to him, and answer without understanding the questions put to him, or the answers which he gave. For instance, his answer to the question how he recognised Ruprecht, whom he had never seen, illogical as it was, is intelligible enough when the character of the respondent is kept in view. All he meant to say probably was, that he knew that the person before him was Ruprecht, because he had heard before of the assassination, and that the wounded man was lying in the house where he had been brought to be confronted with him. As to the time and manner of his return, too, a confusion might not unnaturally arise in the mind of one so simple, between the hour at which he had himself returned, and that when his wife had *last* returned from her mother's house; and although even then contradictions existed, many of the circumstances which at first sight appeared inconsistent in his narrative might be explained by supposing the true state of the case to have been this:—that he and his wife had left her mother's together at nine, with the child, and gone home; that after her husband and the child were in bed, his wife had, as he stated, returned to her mother's to finish her work, and had finally returned home between ten and eleven o'clock.

This was in fact substantially proved by the investigation that followed. His mother-in-law, Barbara Lang, stated that the husband and wife were accustomed to pass the evening in her house to save fire and light; that they had left the house about half-past nine, accompanied by the child; that her daughter had afterwards returned, and remained with her for about an hour and a half, when she went home. Cunegunda, the wife of the accused, though she represented the hour at which they left her mother's house as earlier than that which her mother had indicated, agreed with her in other particulars. She had accompanied her husband and child home, had seen them in bed, and then taking with her the only light they had in the house, had gone back to her mother's. On her return after ten, she had been let in by the woman of the house, had found her husband asleep, and neither of them had left the house afterwards till next morning. Barbara Kraus, the landlady, had seen Schmidt return home on Friday evening, accompanied by his wife, who bore a light, and carrying his child on his arm, as she thought, between

eight and nine o'clock: she had opened the house door to them, and Schmidt, as he walked up to his room, had good-humouredly wished her good night. She at first stated that she had not again opened the house door to his wife that night; but upon the question being reiterated, she admitted she might have done so without recollecting, her attention being at the time very much occupied with other matters.

Though there was some discrepancy between these witnesses as to time, that was easily accounted for without any suspicion of falsehood in the case of persons who had no clock or watch in the house to refer to, and particularly in a long and dark night in February. The only question was which had made the nearest approach to the truth—a question of considerable importance in reference to the possibility of the guilt of the accused. Taking a medium between the different periods, and supposing Schmidt to have reached his house accompanied by his wife about a quarter past nine, and to have been again found in bed on her return about half-past ten, the intervening period of an hour and a quarter was the whole time during which it was possible the crime could have been committed. The blow had been given by all accounts at a quarter past ten; the ale-house, where it took place, was at the distance of about a mile and a quarter from Schmidt's house, and the path of a murderer going to or stealing home from the scene of his crime, is seldom the most direct one. Supposing, however, that there was time enough to have reached the spot, completed the crime, and returned, which was barely possible, was it likely that a murder so cool and treacherous would be perpetrated by one who had been laboriously and industriously toiling for the support of his family the whole evening by his mother-in-law's fire—who had peaceably returned home and gone to bed with his child—that a being so slow and sluggish in his intellect, so incapable of acting with decision in the ordinary affairs of life, should all at once, as if the scheme had long been matured, seize the instant when his wife had left the house, to spring up, hurry to a distance, lie in wait for, and deliberately murder a fellow being, and then be found quietly asleep at home in the course of a quarter of a hour after the crime was perpetrated? This, if the testimony of his wife was to be believed,—and there existed apparently no reason to doubt its truth,—was, to say the least, in the highest degree improbable.

But the red spots upon the handle of his axe? How were these to be accounted for? The accused answered that if such spots existed, of which he knew nothing, they must have proceeded from a swelling in the hand, produced by heat, which had burst the day before. But the swelling, it was answered, is upon the *right* hand;

the stains are on the upper part of the handle near the blade, which is held in the *left* hand; if the stains had been occasioned by blood flowing from the swelling on the right, they must have been on a different part of the handle entirely, near the bottom. The accused replied that he was what is generally termed left-handed, and that in hewing, contrary to the usual practice, he held the lower part of the handle in his left hand, and the upper in his right; a statement which was corroborated by his mother and others who were acquainted with him. Farther, the medical officer of the court, on examining the stains, expressed his doubts whether they were really stains from blood at all, since they appeared to rub out more easily than they would have done if they had proceeded from such a cause. On this ground of suspicion, therefore, it was evident nothing could now be rested.

The examination of the axe showed farther, that it could not well be the weapon with which the wounds had been inflicted. The wound caused by the blow of an axe striking straight down, and not drawn along like a sabre cut, was not likely to be longer than the edge of the blade itself. But here the length of the edge was only three and one-third inches, the length of the wound four inches, while the cut in the leather cap which had been divided, was four and one-third inches in length. The form of the wound in the head, too, which at both ends came gently to a point, seemed irreconcilable with the broad and equally defined incision all along, likely to be made by the blade of an axe.

Even the slender support afforded to the accusation by the charge of a previous imprisonment for theft, was next removed. The prisoner's vindication of himself was found to be substantially correct;—while his good character for sobriety, industry, simplicity, and good nature for years past, was established by a mass of evidence.

Thus, one by one, the grounds of suspicion which had at first appeared to be assuming so firm and compact a form, crumbled away; and though Christopher Schmidt was not yet finally liberated, it was evident that as matters stood his speedy acquittal from the charge was certain. But as the cloud of suspicion passed off from Christopher, it gathered for a moment round the heads of his namesakes, the Great and the Little Schmidt, inhabitants of the Walch Street.

Both of these individuals, as already mentioned, had been acquainted with Ruprecht; and so far at least as occasionally carousing together went, had been for a time among his usual boon companions. Their intimacy, however, for it never seemed to have amounted to friendship, had been suddenly put an end to in consequence of a quarrel, in which Ruprecht got involved with

the surveyors of his district, Friedmann and Götz, in the course of which the goldsmith, having publicly made some unfounded and abusive charges against these official persons, was convicted upon the evidence of his former acquaintances, the Schmidts, and sentenced to a short imprisonment on bread and water. Ruprecht had retaliated by an action of damages against Götz and Friedmann, which was still in dependence at the time of his death. Was it possible, then, that these persons had made use of the Schmidts, who had previously given them the benefit of their testimony against Ruprecht, as instruments of their revenge against their pertinacious opponent? Possible certainly;—but in the highest degree improbable: for the surveyors appeared throughout the whole proceedings with Ruprecht to have acted with the greatest discretion and forbearance; and their general character was that of men utterly incapable of any act so atrocious, particularly from a motive so inadequate. Not less satisfactory was the report as to the character of the supposed actors, the Schmidts, who were remarkable in their neighbourhood for their industrious and honest conduct, while the proof as to their not having committed the crime was finally placed beyond a doubt by the evidence of several witnesses, who spoke to the fact of their having returned home early on the night of the murder, and not having left the house till next morning.

Two other circumstances at this time occurred, as if to show the endlessness of this search after Schmidts:—the one that two other Schmidts were discovered, not indeed living in the town, but in the suburbs, and one of them the woodman generally employed by Bieringer, Ruprecht's son-in-law; but against neither of these was any trace of suspicion found. The other circumstance was, that it was now ascertained that Ruprecht had not only varied in his accounts as to the residence of his supposed assassin, but that in some of his conversations with his relatives, when asked if he knew who had injured him, he had answered in the negative. Perhaps then the whole was a mere vision growing out of the confusion of his mind at the time, and his mixing up the idea of a woodman's axe, which he naturally enough imagined had been the instrument of his death, with the recollection of the two woodmen, the Schmidts, who had played so conspicuous a part in the proceedings at the instance of the surveyors.

Long indeed before this conclusion had been come to, it had occurred to some of the official persons that they were proceeding on a wrong scent, and that the actors in the villainy were to be found nearer home.

When Ruprecht was found in the passage immediately after the blow, the expressions he used, it will be recollected, were—

"Villain, with the axe!" And shortly afterwards, "My daughter!—my daughter!" These had been naturally interpreted at the time into an expression of his anxiety to see her: but circumstances subsequently emerging seemed to render it doubtful whether his exclamation did not bear a less favourable meaning.

The matrimonial life of Bieringer and his wife, it appeared, had been long a very unhappy one. Her husband for a time constantly complained to his father-in-law of her love of dress, and her quarrelsome temper; which on one occasion had reached such a height, that she had been subjected to an imprisonment of forty-eight hours for disturbing the peace of the neighbourhood. This last remedy had been found more efficacious than the previous complaints, and from that time down to the death of Ruprecht, the couple had lived on tolerable terms.

Not so, however, Ruprecht and his son-in-law. Bieringer, who was a man of some education and refinement of manners, had never concealed the dislike with which he regarded the vulgar propensities of his father-in-law; and this, added to his complaints against his wife, had so irritated the old man, that he never spoke of Bieringer but in terms of violent hostility. But a few days before his death, he had called him, before his own servant, a damned villain, whom he would never speak to even if he were on his death-bed. Actuated by these feelings towards him, Ruprecht had for some time past determined to make a will, by which his property, which he was to leave his daughter, was to be placed entirely beyond the controul of her husband; and this intention he had announced, about two months before his death, *to his daughter*, and more lately to his apprentice Högner, to whom he assigned as his reason his determination to disappoint that villain his son-in-law. Nay, within a few hours of his murder, he had sent for Högner to assist him in arranging his papers, and had fixed the following Sunday for completing the long-projected testament. This intention he had announced in the hearing of his servant. From some one of these sources his determination might have been communicated to Bieringer; a sufficient motive for the removal of the testator would thus have been furnished; and unquestionably there was a singular coincidence in point of time between the conversation of Friday afternoon and the murder at night, which favoured the suspicion that they might stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect.

When the intelligence of his father-in-law's being wounded was first brought to the house of Bieringer, he observed to his wife coldly, and with an appearance of ill-humour, that she must go over to see her father, to whom something had happened, adding, "we have nothing but plague with him." The conduct of the daughter

when she came into the alehouse seemed to some of the spectators to display a want of real feeling. One of her first concerns was to see whether her father had his keys about him, and having ascertained that he had, she took possession of, and walked away with them. With the removal of her father from the inn to his own house, all her lamentations ceased. She appeared, as some of the witnesses stated, scarcely to treat him with ordinary kindness, and to give grudgingly, and of necessity, what was necessary for his comfort.

While the investigation was proceeding against the Great Schmidt, she displayed a singular anxiety to increase the suspicion against him, by reporting conversations with her father which no other person had heard; in which, besides pointing out Schmidt Woodman as his murderer, he was made to add "he was a large man." Her own husband, Bieringer, it is to be observed, was very small in stature. She made great efforts to be allowed to be present when Schmidt was confronted with her father, alleging, as her reason, that she wished to remind him of the omniscience of God, which might, perhaps, lead him to confession; for the others she was assured were innocent of the crime.

These attempts to throw suspicion on one who was clearly proved to have had no concern with the murder, the other suspicious circumstances in the conduct of the daughter, the situation in which Bieringer stood with his father-in-law, and the temptation to make away with Ruprecht, arising from the intended execution of the testament, left at first a strong impression on the mind of the judge that Bieringer, or some emissary of his, would be found to be the murderer.

Here also, however, as in the former cases, the grounds of suspicion vanished, one by one, into thin air.

That the words "my daughter!" uttered by Ruprecht, truly denoted nothing else but his anxiety to see her, appeared from the fact mentioned by his sister Clara, that such was his constant practice when any thing unpleasant or vexatious happened to him, and also from the evidence of the landlady of the Hölle, who stated that she herself had first suggested sending for his daughter, to which he assented by an affirmative nod of his head. Bieringer's coldness and indifference when the news of the accident were delivered to him, were such as might have been expected from one who, for a long time before, had been on terms of mutual dislike with his father-in-law; but by no means easily reconcilable with the supposition that he was himself, mediately or immediately, his murderer. The inferences arising from the depositions of the first witnesses as to the insensibility evinced by the daughter, were entirely neutralized by the evidence of others, who described

her conduct as dutiful and affectionate in the highest degree; even the taking the keys from her father's person appeared to have been done at the suggestion of the surgeon who was present, and who imagined that the murder might have been committed as a preliminary to robbery. Her accusation of Schmidt might have been founded on expressions really used by her father, whose mind it was now plain had often wandered after the blow. And the anxiety with which she followed it up was natural, and even laudable, supposing her to have once adopted the idea that Schmidt was the murderer. Even the ground-work of the whole suspicion, namely, the supposed motive arising from the intended execution of the testament by which his wife's fortune was to be placed beyond Bieringer's controul, was completely shaken; for it was found that there was not even probable evidence that ever such an intention had reached his ears. His wife stated that she had never communicated to him her conversation with her father, which, from the indifferent terms on which they lived, and the consideration that it would have been an advantage to her had her father lived to carry his intentions as to his will into effect, appeared extremely probable; nor had Högner, his other confident, divulged it to any one. The maid, who had been present during the interviews with Högner on Friday afternoon, equally disclaimed having ever spoken of it. His brother and sisters had never heard of Ruprecht's intentions. Finally, there was distinct evidence that Bieringer himself at least had not been the murderer, because at a quarter past ten, when the murder was committed, he was proved to have been quietly seated in the parlour of the Golden Fish. The result of the preliminary investigations on the whole was to satisfy the judge that no real ground of suspicion existed either against Bieringer or his wife.

Even after all these failures the investigation was not abandoned. The servant who had been called upon to point out the name of any person who had done business with Ruprecht shortly before his death, mentioned that three persons, appearing to be of the regimental band, had been in Ruprecht's house on the morning of the murder. On inquiry, it was ascertained that this statement was correct, and the three men, who turned out to be oboe-players in the band, were forthwith taken into custody. It appeared, from their own admission, that one of them, Pröschl, had procured a loan of twenty-two florins from Ruprecht shortly before; that the creditor had become clamorous for payment, and that the debtor, accompanied by the other two, Mühl and Spitzbart, had called on Ruprecht on the Friday morning, with the view of obtaining some delay; and that Ruprecht had fixed the following morning for accompanying Pröschl to his brother-

in-law, from whom he said he expected to receive the money. Add to this, the opinion, which from the first had been expressed by the inspecting physician, that the blow seemed to have been inflicted by a sabre; and there was enough to warrant the judge in thinking that here, at last, he might have stumbled upon the real murderer. Here also, however, the rising fabric of evidence was at once overturned by a clear proof of alibi on the part of one and all of the suspected assassins.

And here, at last, justice was obliged to give up the pursuit; nor has any light been since thrown upon this strange story.

Omitting many cases of deep interest, and some of them of a very extraordinary complexion, though the extreme atrocity of their peculiar features renders them painful, we shall conclude with a case of a most singular nature, both from the circumstances with which it was attended from first to last, the character of the party implicated, and the result with which it was attended. The few remarks we have to offer in regard to it we shall incorporate with the narrative itself.

In 1805, Francis Salis Riembauer was appointed to the situation of assistant clergyman in the church of Upper Lauterbach. He had filled a similar situation for several years before, in various other churches. He had brought with him to Lauterbach a high character for intelligence and polemical ability, as well as for the fire and unction of his discourses, and the extreme sanctity of his life and conversation. His appearance was prepossessing, his stature tall, the expression of his countenance serious but mild, his conversation eloquent and instructive. A peculiar appearance of humility seemed to characterize all his movements; he walked in general with his head sunk down, his eyes half closed, his hands reverently folded on his breast. His sermons were composed in a strain of enthusiastic piety; the necessity of an absolute separation from this world, and an exclusive devotion to the things of another, were inculcated with earnestness and perseverance. He was supposed by his simple flock to stand in direct communication with the world of spirits, who were said to haunt him in his chamber, beset him in his walks, and move from right to left when he raised his finger. If Riembauer did not himself promote these superstitious notions, he at least did nothing to discourage them, but accepted with his usual appearance of mild indifference the homage which was paid to him.

His high reputation, however, though general, was not universal; most of his hearers thought him a saint, but some doubted. A report had at one time been in circulation that his former colleague at Hofkirchen had warned his successor that he was little

better than a wolf in sheep's clothing; and some of the more prudent among the rude forefathers of the hamlet rather discouraged the visits, which he paid with singular punctuality to the female part of their families, for the purpose of confession or penance. His extreme mildness of demeanour and humility of aspect appeared to them overacted; and the refined and spiritual character of his doctrines somewhat inconsistent with the conduct which he shortly afterwards adopted.

At Thomashof, in the neighbourhood of Ober Lauterbach, lived a family of the name of Frauenknecht, consisting of the farmer (an old man who died shortly afterwards), his wife, and two daughters, the elder, Magdalena, then about 18 years of age, her sister, Catherine, six years younger. The whole family were distinguished for their probity, industry and hospitable disposition, while Magdalena added to these good qualities a more than usual share of personal attractions. With this family Riembauer had very soon established a particular acquaintance. They were naturally flattered by the visits of one superior to themselves in situation and education, and still more distinguished by the sanctity of his character. But Riembauer carried his condescension farther than seemed consistent with the dignity of his priestly office; for not content with merely visiting the family, he used to give his personal assistance to the old farmer in his field labours, and to perform all the duties of a common servant. Those who entertained an unfavourable opinion of him before, drew additional arguments in support of it from this singular conduct; but Riembauer proved to the majority of his flock, by the authority of Epiphanius and of church councils, that nothing was more common in the primitive times of the church than this union of the spade with the crosier, and that there was something praiseworthy in recurring to that patriarchal simplicity. About the end of 1806, the parishioners were informed that he had purchased Thomashof from the Frauenknechts for 4000 florins, and shortly afterwards he transferred his residence to that farm, still retaining his clerical office and performing its duties with the same zeal and spirit as before, but combining them with agricultural labours, in which he was assisted by the family of the Frauenknechts, who, notwithstanding the sale, continued to reside upon the farm.

The eldest daughter, Magdalena, was to remain as cook in his family, and with this view she was sent to Munich in the beginning of 1807, where she remained for six or seven months in the house of the Registrator Y——. In June, 1807, Riembauer himself went to Munich, for the purpose of passing his examination as candidate for a church, which he did with great credit to himself.

Shortly afterwards (in the beginning of 1808) he obtained the situation of priest at Priel, sold off to advantage the farm which he had purchased from the Frauenknechts, and removed with them, Magdalena having now completed her culinary education in Munich, to his new residence.

Shortly before his removal to Priel, an event had happened in the neighbourhood which at first created a strong sensation, though the utter mystery in which it was involved seemed to have first baffled and finally extinguished all curiosity on the subject. Anna Eichstädter, the daughter of a carpenter at Furth, had engaged herself as servant to a clergyman in the neighbourhood, towards the end of October, 1807. She had obtained permission, however, from her new master, to pay a visit to her relations before finally entering upon her service. As a pledge for her return, she had left with him her silver neck-chain and other articles of some value. It rained in the afternoon when she set out, and at her request he lent her a green umbrella, on the handle of which the initials of his name, J. D. were engraved. Several days elapsed, but she did not return. Among others whom she had mentioned she intended to visit, was Riembauer, with whom she said she had been acquainted while she had been in the service of his former colleague at Hirnheim. To him, accordingly, her new master wrote, after some days had elapsed, mentioning that if she felt reluctant to return to his service she might at least send back his umbrella. Riembauer replied that he had seen neither the one nor the other, and expressed some astonishment that such an application should have been made to him. Months passed on, but Eichstädter did not appear. The investigations which were resorted to threw no light upon her disappearance; her previous character appeared to have been somewhat light, and her reputation for virtue more than doubtful, but nothing came out which could afford any explanation of her fate. The common conjecture was, that she had either been drowned, or had fallen into the hands of a notorious robber and murderer, who was executed about a year afterwards. Gradually, however, the matter ceased to be talked of, and her fate, even by her relations, was forgotten.

It was some months after her disappearance that Riembauer removed with the Frauenknecht family from Thomashof to Priel. This association, however, was not destined to be of long continuance; the widow Frauenknecht died on the 16th of June, 1809, after a short illness, and her daughter Magdalena followed her five days afterwards. The younger daughter, Catherine, who had never been on good terms with her sister or with Riembauer, had left the family a short time before. After the deaths of her

mother and sister, she had lived as a domestic in different families, in all of which she was remarkable for the singular melancholy, the air of anxiety and restlessness which marked her conduct; solitude seemed irksome to her; to sleep alone at night was an object of terror, and these feelings seemed rather to increase with years than to become less lively. Sometimes she let fall expressions as to some woman whom she could not get out of her head, and whose figure, she said, followed her wherever she went. With these, too, at times, the name of Riembauer was joined, as having had a principal part in those scenes by the remembrance of which she appeared to be haunted. To some of her intimate friends she ventured at last to be more explicit—she stated in plain terms that Riembauer had been the murderer of a woman at Thomashof in 1807, that she had herself been unwittingly a witness to the deed, and that this atrocity had been followed by other crimes, which till that moment had been unsuspected.

At last, in 1813, she laid her information formally before the Landgericht at Landshut, to the following effect:—That during the period when her sister Magdalena and Riembauer were both in Munich in 1807, the one in the service of the registrator, the other preparing for his examination, a woman presented herself suddenly at Thomashof. She announced herself as a niece of Riembauer, and being informed that he was then in Munich, demanded the key of his room, which she, Catherine, who was the only person then in the house, at first refused. On the arrival of her mother, however, the key was given to her, and she immediately proceeded with it to the room, which she searched as if the house had been her own. She remained that night, and next morning, when she went away, stated that she had not found her money as she expected, but that she had left a sealed packet for the priest.

On Riembauer's return, which took place about eight days afterwards, he merely remarked, on being told of this domiciliary visit, that it was a niece of his to whom he owed some money. About the 2d of November, in the same year, Catherine and her mother had returned from the field somewhat later than Magdalena and Riembauer; when they drew near the door of the house, they thought they heard in the upper floor a singular noise —whether laughing, weeping, or groaning, they could hardly distinguish; as they entered, however, Magdalena flew to meet them with the frightful intelligence, that a stranger, representing herself as a niece of Riembauer, had arrived shortly before; that Riembauer, after taking her up to his room, had come down on pretence of getting her some refreshment, and taken his razor,

and that she had followed him up stairs, and through the key-hole had seen him draw near to the unfortunate woman with expressions of endearment, and suddenly plunge it into her throat. Even while Magdalena was thus speaking, the groans of the victim and the voice of Riembauer, loud and threatening, were distinctly heard from above. As if fascinated by the terrors of the scene, Catherine ran up stairs, and saw through the key-hole the priest kneeling over the body of his victim, from which the blood flowed in streams, and which was still heaving with a convulsive motion.

Overpowered with fear, she rejoined her mother and sister in the room below. Shortly afterwards the door of the upper room opened, and the priest came down, his hands and sleeves dropping with blood, the razor still in his right hand. He went into the room to her mother and sister, told them that the woman had constantly persecuted him for money on account of a child which she had borne to him; that she had just been demanding from him 100 or 200 florins, and threatening him with exposure in case of refusal; and that not having the money, he had no other alternative left but that of silencing her complaints and her testimony for ever. The mother at first threatened him with the immediate disclosure of the murder; but at last, moved by the desperation of Riembauer, who had seized a rope and announced his resolution of committing suicide, they consented to keep the murder secret, and to assist him, if necessary, in the disposal of the body.

The place chosen for this purpose was a little room adjoining the stable, where a hole was dug by Riembauer for its reception. At midnight on the 3d of November, Catherine said she was awakened by the noise, and saw from the door of her own room Riembauer descend, dragging the body behind him still dressed, and with the head hanging down. Coming down afterwards, she saw him employed in heaping earth upon the body. The spots of blood along the passage he washed out with his own hand; those in his room, which had already become dry, he carefully effaced from the floor by means of a plane, and threw the chips into the stove. A woman's shoe, which the house dog was found dragging next morning about the court, Catherine took up and delivered to Riembauer, though she could not say how he had afterwards disposed of it. The inquiries of their neighbours, some of whom had heard the disturbance which had taken place the evening before, they answered by saying, that some discussion had arisen relative to the purchase price of Thomashof, which had ended in an altercation between them and Riembauer.

From this moment, however, the friendly intercourse which

had subsisted between Riembauer and the Frauenknechts was at an end. Reproaches on the one hand, anxiety and the fear of detection on the other, rendered their residence at Priel irksome to all. Quarrels followed; Magdalena threatened to leave his service, and the fear of exposure began daily to recur more and more vividly to his mind. Immediately afterwards followed the illness and death of her mother and sister. No medical attendant was called during their illness, no clergyman was allowed to approach them, their medicines were all ordered and administered by Riembauer himself. The body of Magdalena after death was found strangely swollen and covered with spots, the blood gushed from her mouth and nose; the apothecary who saw the body after death conceived she had been in a state of pregnancy, and from all this Catherine drew the conclusion that her mother and sister had been poisoned.

Even before the sudden death of her mother and sister, Catherine had been warned by the latter that Riembauer had designs upon her life, and acting upon this advice she had left his house. Subsequently to this he had made attempts to induce her to return to his service, by promises of a large marriage portion, and other advantages; but determined not to trust herself again in his hands, she had declined all his proposals.

The young woman who had fallen a victim to the treacherous attack of Riembauer, she described as a person of about twenty-two years of age, tall and rather handsome; she was dressed in the garb of a peasant, and had brought with her a green umbrella, upon which were marked the initials J. D. This umbrella Riembauer had retained, and it was still in his possession.

The events thus disclosed by Catherine Frauenknecht, on the one hand so strange and (looking to the previous character of the alleged criminal,) so unlikely, were on the other so consistent and well-connected, and the narration given with so much apparent calmness, distinctness, and confidence, that the court before which the information was first laid ordered an immediate inspection of the scene of the alleged murder, the farm house of Thomashof, which, as already mentioned, was now no longer in the hands of Riembauer. The result of the examination was such as to confirm in most of its important features the information of Catherine Frauenknecht. In the room adjoining the stable, as described by her, were found a skeleton and a woman's shoe; in that which had been inhabited by Riembauer stains were detected on the floor which when moistened with warm water were found to be the marks of blood; several of the planks in the flooring were marked with hollows and rough edges, as if a plane had been applied to them; and Michael, one of the neighbours, recollected

being applied to for the use of a plane by the members of Frauenknecht's family about six years before.

The result of this inquisition led to the immediate arrest of Riembauer. His apprehension seemed to excite in him neither surprize nor fear. If he was guilty of the atrocities ascribed to him, he was at least far too cool and circumspect either to betray any tokens of emotion, or to make his case worse by affecting ignorance of matters which he knew were capable of being proved. His policy, if such it were, was of a higher kind, and the course he adopted only reconcilable with the notion either of perfect innocence, or of the most hardened and calculating guilt. He admitted almost every thing which had been stated by Catherine Frauenknecht, but he gave to the whole a turn consistent with his own innocence of the murder.

Though he had heard nothing of the substance of Catherine's deposition, he did not affect to doubt that the death of Anna Eichstädter was the cause of his apprehension. He admitted at once that he had been acquainted with her (though he denied that their acquaintance had been at all of a criminal nature) while assistant at Hirnheim; that in consequence of the confidence she reposed in him she had placed in his hands fifty florins of her savings, and had begged to be taken into his service, which he had promised to do in the event of her future good conduct. Since he left Hirnheim he had neither seen nor heard anything of her, except that while at Pirkwang she had twice sent messages to him for part of the money in his hands. In 1807, while he was in Munich, she had made her appearance one day at Thomashof, and to the great annoyance of the Frauenknecht family, had communicated to them the promise which had been made to her, that she should be taken into his service as cook. This intelligence rankled in their minds, and they determined by every means in their power to prevent it. It was about eight days after the death of old Frauenknecht that Riembauer, one evening in the twilight, returned to Thomashof from Lauterbach, where he had been performing a service for the dead. Meeting no one in the passage, he walked straight up to his room, where he found the door open. On the floor lay a figure extended and motionless, and on approaching it he found, to his consternation, that it was the lifeless body of a woman. He ran into the room above, where he found Magdalena and her mother clinging to each other and trembling like aspen leaves. They wept and conjured him to be silent. They then informed him that the same woman who had visited them at Thomashof in summer had again made her appearance that evening, and demanded admittance into his room, insisting that she was to be received into the house as cook, and that the

Frauenknechts would soon be sent about their business. This statement led to reproaches; reproaches to blows. The stranger either struck or attempted to strike Magdalena, who thereupon had seized Riembauer's razor and inflicted on her a mortal wound. On hearing this story he had kindled a light, and, entering the room again, recognised in the murdered woman Anna Eichstädter. He at first protested that he would instantly leave the house—that he could not remain longer in their society; but at last, overcome by their tears and entreaties, he was rash and, as he now deeply regretted, guilty enough, to agree to remain and to assist them in concealing the crime, which he had come too late to avert. He had accordingly dug a grave for the body in the stable, and had interred it at midnight, as described in the information of Catherine Frauenknecht. The poisoning of Magdalena and her mother he entirely denied.

Such were the conflicting accounts given by Catherine and Riembauer as to the circumstances. According to both it was obvious that a murder had taken place at Thomashof, and that Eichstädter had been the victim; the remaining question was, by whom had it been committed?—by the pious Riembauer, hitherto looked upon as a pattern of goodness—or the young Magdalena, whose character for gentleness in the neighbourhood was scarcely less established? In either view of the case there were doubts to be cleared up. If, according to Riembauer's statement, Magdalena was the murderess, the cause assigned seemed insufficient to account for so sudden and complete a change of disposition, or so desperate and atrocious a deed; while the improbability was increased by the consideration that while Magdalena was of a slight and feeble frame, Eichstädter was tall, in good health, of great corporeal strength, and a complete overmatch for her opponent. On the other hand, Catherine's story was not without its difficulties. At the period to which her evidence related she was only twelve years of age, and the self-possession which she had displayed, and the minuteness of her details, indicated an unusual and almost surprising degree of presence of mind and retentiveness of memory. She herself admitted that Riembauer and she had never been on good terms. Her statement that she had heard the words of the deceased from the upper room, when by her own account her throat had been cut some time before, seemed to be of a most improbable nature; and finally, there was as yet a want of any sufficient motive which could account for the deed, on the supposition that Riembauer was the murderer. As to the charge of poisoning, that rested only on her impression, arising from circumstances which, though suspicious, were certainly far from being conclusive against Riembauer.

The reason, however, which, according to Catherine's account, he had assigned to her mother and sister for the intrusion of Eichstädter, suggested the propriety of an immediate inquiry into Riembauer's former life and moral habits, and a minute investigation into these particulars, from his youth, during his successive residences at Heerwahl, Obergleim, Hofkirchen, Hirnheim, Sollach, Pfarrkopf, Pondorf, Pirkwang and Priel, was set on foot. While this was proceeding, it was found that a regular system of subornation had been begun by Riembauer even in prison; that he had written letters to several of his acquaintances, endeavouring to prevail upon them to give evidence that Magdalena had, during her life-time, confessed the murder of Eichstädter; and to his own servant, Anna Weninger, directing her immediately to destroy the umbrella alluded to in the previous detail.* No sooner did he find by the change in his attendants that these attempts had been detected, than he solicited an interview with the judge; told him voluntarily that under the influence of a melancholy to which he was subject he had written certain letters, the contents of which he did not know; and begged him, should they be found to contain any thing injurious to him, to ascribe it entirely to the influence of that state of mind under which they were written.

The result of the investigation into the previous life of the priest strongly confirmed the evidence of Catherine, by showing that Riembauer's pretensions to sanctity were totally without foundation; that in all or most of his previous residences the proofs of his licentiousness were still extant; while he had more than once resorted to the most infamous means to prevent the consequences of his crimes from coming to light. It was proved that a criminal intercourse had subsisted between him and Eichstädter, begun while he was chaplain at Hirnheim, and continued from time to time down to 1807; that a child, born at Ratisbon, and baptised under a false name, had been the fruit of this connection; that some months before her disappearance he had visited her at Ratisbon; that she had been seen on that occasion to accompany him part of the way on his return, along with her child; and that they had parted in anger, and with gestures of a menacing nature.

The improbability of Catherine's story, arising from the previous character of Riembauer, was thus at once removed; while a sufficient motive for the murder of Eichstädter—the necessity

* In one of these letters addressed to a priest of his acquaintance, he enforces his request that he would give evidence in his favour by the following considerations:—"For the sake of our brotherly love; for the sake of my friends, who are in trouble on my account; for the sake of the priesthood, upon which a stain would be cast; and for the sake of true believers, to whom it might be a stumbling-block."

of getting rid of one who was dunning him for money, and apparently threatening him with exposure—was now furnished by the disclosure of their connection and its consequences. The main difficulty, too, in the information of Catherine, arising from the apparent impossibility of her hearing the words of Eichstädter under the circumstances stated by her, was obviated by the concurring opinion of the medical men, who agreed that in the event of the head being strongly bent forwards and downwards, it was perfectly possible that the words of Eichstädter might have been distinctly heard, notwithstanding the previous separation of the wind-pipe. On the other charges against Riembauer, the alleged poisoning of Magdalena and her mother, little further light was thrown. It was established, however, that Magdalena, like many others, had undoubtedly fallen a victim to his seductions, and that at the very moment when this consummate hypocrite was undergoing his examination at Munich, in 1807, the unfortunate young woman, who, as already mentioned, had come there on pretence of learning cookery, was recovering in the very same house after the birth of a son.

While the chain of evidence was thus winding itself closer and closer round the criminal, his calmness, his self-possession, his dexterity in evading such questions as he did not choose to answer, his ingenuity in reconciling his contradictions and inventing plausible theories, moral and physical, in support of his own version of the murder, seemed only to increase with the weight and force of the presumptions against him. He generally replied to the questions put to him with a bland smile; if at times he broke out into an expression of some warmth, he would beg pardon for the vehemence into which he had been hurried by a sense of wounded honour; sometimes he would laugh aloud at the lies which he said the devil had invented against him; sometimes, when pressed by an awkward inquiry, he would diverge into a strain of metaphysical subtlety, or endeavour to divert the attention of the judge by passing hastily to some other topic. When confronted with the witnesses, he attempted to influence their evidence by leading questions; by appeals to their compassion or their fears; by artful but apparently straightforward examinations of the circumstances; by dissertations on the risk of error and the heinousness of rash testimony. When these arts failed to shake their evidence, he would relapse into his old preaching tone—exclaim "*Quis contra torrentem?*"—appeal to the Holy Trinity for his innocence, and protest that he was a defenceless sheep attacked on all hands by devouring dogs. Nothing was extracted from him which materially tended to strengthen the extrinsic evidence against him: although he varied his story in particulars, he ad-

hered pertinaciously to his leading point—that Magdalena was the murderess, and that he had been guilty of no other offence than that of having concealed the crime from motives of compassion.

In this ineffectual struggle, during which the priest had undergone no less than *eighty* examinations, *two years* had passed on, and justice seemed fairly at a stand. Having failed to act on the understanding of the criminal, the judge proceeded, in a way calculated to astonish an English reader, and which we confess we find it difficult to reconcile even with the admitted rules of the German criminal law, to operate upon his imagination. The scene, it must be admitted, was got up with some knowledge of stage effect. On All Souls' day, the day on which, eight years before, the murder had been committed, a new examination was ordered. It began at four o'clock in the afternoon, and being directed to all the mass of evidence hitherto collected, and the contradictions and improbabilities of Riembauer's story, was prolonged till *midnight*. The judge addressed himself next to the conscience of the prisoner, and after concluding an impassioned appeal, he suddenly raised a cloth from the table, under which lay a skull placed upon a black cushion. "This," said he, "is the skull of Anna Maria Eichstädter, which you may still recognise by the two rows of white teeth* in the jaws." Riembauer rose instantly from his chair, stared wide upon the judge, retired a step or two so as to hide the object from his eyes, then resuming his habitual smile and his accustomed tranquillity, he pointed to the skull, and replied—"My conscience is calm. If that skull could speak, it would say, Riembauer was my friend; he was not my murderer." A second attempt to extract some admission from him was not more successful. When they held the skull before his eyes, he betrayed strong internal agitation; but again he mastered himself, and once more repeated—"If the skull could speak, it would confirm the truth of my story."

So ended this abortive attempt to effect by intimidation what they had failed to obtain by the legitimate mode of examination—an attempt which for a moment almost placed this wretched hypocrite in the situation of a persecuted man. Feuerbach details this judicial melodrama without observation, as if the whole were equally justifiable on legal and moral grounds. To us, we confess, it appears wholly indefensible on either. If the German governments have now abolished physical torture as a means of eliciting evidence, on what ground is this moral torture to be vindicated? Is a man less likely to utter rash or dangerous admissions (of which the law in other cases refuses to avail itself) when the shock is

* The deceased had been remarkable for the beauty of her teeth.

administered to his imagination, weakened and harassed by a long previous examination, and a confinement prolonged for years, than when his body is subjected to physical pain? Above all, how can such devices be justified under a law which, even in permitting the necessary examinations, expressly lays it down that no questions, either captious (meaning thereby such as may involve the party in admissions without his perceiving their tendency) or suggestive in their nature, are to be put to the prisoner; nay, that the name of an accomplice, or any special circumstance connected with the fact, but not yet proved, shall not be suggested to him, otherwise the confession so obtained shall be of no effect!—(*Peinliche Gerichts Ordnung*, Art. 56.)

The inexpediency of such mummeries is not less obvious than the injustice. As a means of eliciting the truth they are almost worthless, for their effect depends chiefly on the state of the nerves and the early associations of the prisoner. When they are calculated to act at all they are likely to operate against the innocent with scarcely less force than the guilty; for in most cases the object of them, though he may be innocent of the specific fact charged against him, is generally so far mixed up with it as a spectator of the scene, or connected in some way with its actors, that unless he be a person of peculiarly strong nerves there can be little doubt that such an exhibition at midnight, after an examination of eight hours, and a confinement of two years, would shake his mind from its balance, and might give birth to expressions or signs of emotion which would be interpreted against him. On the other hand, the hardened criminal, against whom it would have been most legitimate to adopt such a means of extracting the truth, is proof against them. Take any shape of superstitious terror that we will, "his firm nerves will never tremble;" and he only becomes more resolute in his denials by perceiving the weakness of a proof which required to be eked out by such illegitimate means.

So it was with Riembauer. For *two years longer* did he contrive to baffle all the efforts of his judges. The record of the proceedings in October, 1816, already filled forty-two folio volumes. At last, however, his firmness gave way, and the cause of the change was nearly as singular as the other circumstances of this remarkable case.

On the 20th Nov. 1816, a Jew of the name of Lammfromm,* was executed for murder, at Landshut. Riembauer saw him led to execution from his window, and was observed to be much moved by the composure and cheerfulness with which he met his

* Lammfromm, "Gentle as a Lamb," a strange misnomer.

death. On expressing his wonder at the Christian way in which the Jew had terminated his career, he was told, (what was the fact,) that from the moment he confessed his crime he had attained a calmness and cheerfulness of mind which had supported him in his prison, and accompanied him even on the scaffold. This information seemed to have produced a great internal conflict in the mind of Riembauer; for some days he was restless and ate little; on the 26th he demanded an audience. It was the hundredth. If he came with the intention of confession, however, he seemed to have altered his mind; he fell on his knees, said he was weary of his existence, that he was haunted by a thousand phantasms in his prison; that when he attempted to pray, his voice was drowned by the sound of a funeral drum:—every thing, in short, except that he was guilty of the crime charged against him. Again the judge took the trouble to go over the manifold contradictions and inconsistencies of his story, and pressed upon him, that the visions which preyed upon his mind arose from his own troubled conscience, and that his only chance of relief lay in a full and open confession. Then at last his obstinacy gave way; he begged the protection of justice for his children, and for his servant Anna Weninger; "And now," added he, "this is my confession:—Catherine has in many particulars told what was not true, but in the main she has spoken the truth. I am the murderer of Anna Eichstädter."

We shall not enter into the details of the assassination, which was attended, according to Riembauer's own account, with circumstances of the most revolting and treacherous cruelty. Suffice it to say, that the motive to the act was that which had been alluded to by Catherine Frauenknecht:—that indignant at Riembauer's supposed preference for Magdalena, whom she had in vain attempted to prevail upon him to dismiss, and at his refusal to supply her demands on account of his child, Eichstädter had made a last attempt to effect these purposes by her sudden appearance at Thomashof; that she had enforced her demands by a threat of immediate exposure;—that Riembauer had pretended to yield to her importunities and quitted the room on the pretext of getting her some refreshment, during which time he had prepared himself with the weapon with which the murder was committed. "I thought," said he, "of the doctrine of Father Benedict Stattler in his *Ethica Christiana*, which holds it to be lawful to take away the life of another when there exists no other way of preserving our reputation; for reputation is more valuable than life itself. And we may defend it against an attack, as we should defend ourselves against a murderer." "Of one, or both of us," reasoned Riembauer, "the hour is come;" and tranquillized by the doctrine

of the Jesuit, he re-entered the room, seized his victim, and completed his crime with a barbarity, the details of which we willingly pass over. Horrible as the concluding incident however is, from the unnatural blending which it exhibits of the language at least of religion with the details of the most remorseless guilt, it is too characteristic of the (almost self-deceiving) hypocrisy of the criminal to be omitted. As his victim lay struggling beneath him, he exhorted her to repentance, and gave her absolution, as he observes, in case of necessity! "While she lay on the ground, I administered to her spiritual consolation, till her feet began to quiver, and her last breath departed. I know no more," continued he, "of this sad story, but my deep grief and silent lamentation, and that I have often since *applied* masses for her soul." How completely does this last expression reveal the idea which this wretch had of the rites of religion, when he talks of applying a mass or two, as an apothecary would of applying an ointment or a plaster!

Of this singular trial, the sentence will probably appear to English readers not the least remarkable feature. After the evidence already alluded to, arising from the deposition of Catherine Frauenknecht, corroborated as it was by the real evidence of so many other circumstances, and finally by the confession of Riembauer himself, could any one doubt that the punishment awarded must have been that of death? And yet, although the case was successively considered by the tribunals of the first and second instance, the ultimate sentence, which was more severe than the first, was only imprisonment for life: the reason assigned for not inflicting the higher punishment being, that Riembauer was not a person whose previous bad character was notorious, or who had been proved satisfactorily by evidence, *independently of his own confession*, to be a person likely to be guilty of the murder!

It is difficult to look to the sentence following upon such circumstances as we have detailed, without being led to think of the strange differences which exist in the views of our own and of the German law in reference to matters criminal. Here is an inquisition, in the first place, which, while it should undoubtedly have been brought to a close in a few months at farthest, extends over a period of four years;—where, under a system which prohibits in theory even a leading question, the most unjustifiable means of influencing the imagination are practically adopted, as if they were in no way struck at by the operation of the law;—where finally, to a mass of proof in itself nearly sufficient, the confession of the criminal is added, thereby removing all doubt; and where, after all, the sentence finds that the criminal is not proved to be guilty in such form and manner as the law of Bavaria holds necessary for

the infliction of the punishment of death. The first observation which would occur to an English reader naturally would be—if the evidence be insufficient to prove him guilty of the murder, how it is sufficient to warrant any punishment whatever? Riembauer was not brought to trial for general bad conduct, licentiousness, &c. but upon a specific charge. If that charge be not proved, why is any punishment inflicted? If the charge of murder be proved, and if that crime when proved be punishable with death, on what principle is any lesser punishment to be awarded?

Our Scotch readers, who must recollect that their own verdicts of *Not Proven* are in substance analogous to this middle term of the German jurisprudence, since they are in fact the means of affixing a moral stigma to the accused, which to a certain extent is punishment (and punishment which to a refined mind may be attended with no ordinary suffering), in cases where it is admitted that the evidence does not justify a conviction and consequent punishment, may not perhaps be much startled at such compromises in the abstract; but our English readers will perhaps be surprized to learn, that though the question has been long and earnestly debated in Germany, whether a degree of proof not sufficient to authorize the infliction of the punishment applicable to the offence when established *selon les regles* shall be sufficient to authorize a lesser degree of punishment; and although the old opinions on the subject have been assailed with great force of reasoning by many of the ablest jurists of that country, and among others by Feuerbach himself, the law still continues to be, that a man accused of murder or any other crime may be guilty to the effect of authorizing the infliction of the punishment of imprisonment, but not guilty to the effect of authorizing the last punishment of the law.

But laying out of view this principle, and looking at the law of Bavaria as it stands, the judgment in Riembauer's case scarcely appears less unaccountable. What the law requires in the case of confession is, that, in order to conviction, the confession shall correspond with, or be corroborated by, other circumstances of proof; and further, that the accused shall either be of notoriously bad character, or shall be proved by the circumstances, established independently of his confession, to be a person able and likely to commit the crime.

To the general principle which, in order to a conviction, requires that the confession shall be supported by other evidence, we are inclined, though it is opposed to our own practice and to the first impression one forms on the subject, to assent. Singular as it may appear, instances are not uncommon (nay even in these two volumes they are frequent) of persons accusing themselves of crimes inferring death; sometimes with the view of distracting the

attention of the judge from a crime which has been really committed, and of involving him in a long and fruitless investigation;* at others from a suicidal resolution arising from melancholy; sometimes to effect a removal from a particular prison to one where it is supposed the chance of escape is greater;† at others to procure a mitigation of present confinement, and to please the officers of justice, as in the famous case of Fonck, to which we may on a future occasion allude, where the cooper Hamacher, who had been apprehended on suspicion, was prevailed on to get up a pretended confession of his own guilt and that of his master, apparently from no other motive but that of procuring his own liberation from prison. For these reasons, then, we do not quarrel with the German law for holding that a confession unsupported by other evidence is not enough; but can any one look at the evidence, and doubt that in Riembauer's case all that the law required existed in its fullest extent?—the previous bad character; the existence of a sufficient motive for the crime; and finally a *semiplena probatio* at least, independently of the confession, of the facts relative to the murder itself, consisting first of the real evidence arising from the examination of the spot, then of the testimony of Catherine, and also of Riembauer's own brother, who, after the confession, came forward and admitted, that Magdalena had before her death, told him the story of the murder nearly in the same terms with her sister.

The extracts we have made will give the reader some idea of the extreme interest of the contents of these volumes. Many of the other trials which they contain are not less remarkable: and we confess we look forward with much interest to the (half-promised) continuation of the work. On a future occasion we mean to take a glance at the working of *Jury Trial* in the Rhenish provinces, a subject on which a good deal has been said and written in Germany; and with which some very remarkable cases, both in a legal or moral point of view, will be found connected.

* See the case of Xavier Reth, No. XI. vol. i.
† See the case of Rauh, vol. ii. p. 464.

ART. II.—1. *Théorie Analytique de la Chaleur.* Par M. Fourier. 4to. Paris, 1822.

2. *Essai sur la Température de l'Intérieur de la Terre.* Par M. Cordier. (Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, Tom. VII.) Paris, 1827.

FEW questions possess a greater speculative interest than those which relate to the past condition or future fortunes of our globe. Physical Astronomy teaches us that it occupies an invariable place in the planetary system; that it has always revolved, and must ever continue to revolve about the sun, at the same mean distance, and in the same period of time. In its astronomical elements science can discover no trace of a beginning, no symptom of decay, no evidence even of its having ever been different from what it actually is. But when we consider its condition in respect of temperature, the order of the climates, the relative distribution of sea and land, and, in general, of all those circumstances which adapt it to the support of organic life, and the preservation of the existing animal and vegetable species, we are far from being able to recognise the same characters of unchangeableness and stability. On the contrary, the crust of the earth every where abounds with the monuments of great convulsions and physical revolutions. If these revolutions were operated abruptly and by violence, are we secure against their recurrence? If they have been the necessary consequences of the continued operation of physical laws, has that equilibrium yet been attained which admits of no farther disturbance? Such questions as these, if they have no immediate bearing on the present generation, affect at least the future destinies of mankind, and have accordingly formed, in every age of philosophy, a subject of curious and interesting inquiry.

The evidences of convulsion and disturbance, which abound among the superficial materials of the globe, have given rise to numberless theories respecting the cause and the order of that series of revolutions which the earth has successively undergone. Fire, water, the collision of comets, a change in the position of the terrestrial axis, have been in turn assumed as the immediate agents of nature in the production of the imagined catastrophes. One theorist attends only to the disposition of the strata, another to the animal remains which they contain; and each, on stumbling on a plausible explanation of the phenomena with which he happens to be peculiarly conversant, imagines he has solved the problem of the formation of the earth. But the great revolutions of the globe have been produced not by single, but by complicated causes; and cannot be explained merely by the superposi-

tion of rocks, and the species of shells and other organic remains found imbedded in them. They involve considerations of a more abstract nature, and the solution of questions of mechanics and general physics; sciences with which the geologists of bygone times appear to have had very little acquaintance. Hence their systems have so frequently abounded with assumptions and conclusions at variance with the established laws of nature, and their science itself been exposed, not without reason, to be stigmatized as a " series of illusory conjectures." In the course of the last half century, however, geology has been rescued from the hands of the mere mineralogist, and now begins to partake of the certainty of an experimental science. Observations of all kinds have been accumulated; the thermometer has been carried to great depths, and the state of the globe in respect of temperature been examined at many different places; the laws of the propagation and communication of heat, which plays so important a part in every geological system, have been determined by accurate experiments; and the geologist, instead of going back to the primitive chaos, and " travelling out of nature" in search of knowledge, now confines himself to the consideration of observed facts, and traces out their consequences by the rules of inductive reasoning.

On giving an attentive consideration to the actual condition of the earth, the first thing that strikes us as remarkable, is an appearance of a primitive and universal fluidity among the solid materials of the superficial strata. Nor is this fluidity merely indicated by geological appearances; it is in a manner demonstrated by astronomical considerations. The very form of the terrestrial spheroid; the regular disposition of the materials about the centre in elliptical layers, which is proved by experiments on the pendulum; the density of the layers increasing regularly with the depth; all attest that the materials of the globe have been once, and simultaneously, in a state of fusion:—or, at least, in such a state that the constituent molecules have been at liberty to obey the gravitating and centrifugal forces by which they are acted on, and arrange themselves according to the laws of hydrostatics. Now we are acquainted with no other agent in nature than *heat*, capable of producing the liquefaction of the greater part of the substances of which the earth is composed; for as to the hypothesis of an aqueous solution, it has entirely vanished before the mathematical and physical difficulties, or rather impossibilities, with which it is surrounded.

Admitting the existence of an intense heat in the interior of the globe, two theories have been proposed for its explanation. One of these is founded on the supposition of chemical affinities

among the materials of the nucleus, as the action of water on inflammable bases assumed to abound at great depths under the surface. This hypothesis originated with the celebrated Boyle, who ascribed the internal heat of the earth to the decomposition of pyrites, or rather to a species of fermentation going forward in the interior, and it has lately been employed by Dr. Daubeny, of Oxford, as the basis of an ingenious theory of volcanos. The other theory supposes that the original heat which the earth had at its formation, and which caused the fusion of all its elements, is still preserved in the central parts, and that the consolidation of the exterior crust is only due to its slow and gradual dissipation. This hypothesis, as we shall see, affords an adequate mechanical reason for those great convulsions of which the vestiges are so apparent among the superficial strata; and, besides leaving unexplained none of those effects which have been ascribed to the action of chemical heat, it has the advantage of accounting for that universal and simultaneous fluidity which is demanded by the conformity of the figure of the earth with that of hydrostatical equilibrium. In the present state of science it may not be possible to demonstrate the existence of a general high temperature in the interior of the earth, but the data on which the proofs of it must be founded are not beyond the reach of experimental inquiry. If the primitive temperature of the globe was such as to cause the reduction of the whole of its constituent materials to a fluid, perhaps an aëriform state, we are warranted by the recent discoveries that have been made respecting the propagation of heat, to conclude that this temperature may not only be still preserved at the centre, but that indications of its existence may even be manifest at accessible depths under the surface. The utmost depths to which we can penetrate are, indeed, inconsiderable when compared with the dimensions of the earth, scarcely extending to a ten-thousandth part of the radius; yet they far exceed the limits at which the annual variations of solar heat cease to be felt, and therefore afford the means of determining the thermometrical state of the earth beyond the influence of any external source of heat. The materials of the earth also receive and part with heat according to fixed and known laws, which enable the mathematician to compute the ultimate condition at which every part of the mass arrives after having been heated in any arbitrary manner whatever. For these reasons the hypothesis admits of a direct appeal to experience; and the question of a central heat, which was started in the remotest ages, and has frequently been revived, is not now, as formerly, merely a question of speculation and conjecture; it has been brought within the domain of analysis, and can be attacked and discussed with precise data.

For the mathematical theory of the propagation of heat through solid bodies, science is mainly indebted to the ingenious labours of the late Baron Fourier, perpetual secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Paris. This illustrious philosopher and mathematician appears to have made the theory of heat the chief object of his scientific researches during the last twenty years of his life. His great work, entitled *Théorie de la Chaleur*, which was published in 1822, was preceded and followed by a series of important memoirs, which appeared from time to time among those of the *Academy*, all distinguished by comprehensive and philosophic views of the operations of nature, acute reasoning, and great skill and ingenuity in the use of the calculus. They furnish us, indeed, with specimens of some of the finest applications that have yet been made of the mathematical analysis to physical subjects of great difficulty; and it is in them alone that the important question of terrestrial temperature has been analytically discussed with all the requisite details. The problem of the secular cooling of the globe has also been treated by La Place, in the *Connoissance des Temps* for 1823, and the general question of the propagation of heat, by Poisson, in two elaborate memoirs published in the Journal of the Polytechnic School. The principal observations relative to the temperature of the interior of the earth have been collected and discussed by Cordier in the Memoir whose title stands at the head of this Article. From these sources we will endeavour to present our readers with an outline of the principal results of the mathematical theory of heat, the observations tending to prove the existence of a high temperature in the interior of the earth, and some of the most remarkable deductions following from that hypothesis.

In all applications of mathematics to questions appertaining to physics, certain principles, or *postulates*, must be assumed as the basis of the calculus. These may be either laws of nature deduced from anterior observation and experience, or they may be mere hypotheses which we wish to verify by a comparison of their consequences with known facts. The calculus confers no certainty on the consequences of our assumptions; it is merely the instrument by means of which we are enabled to trace out and examine those consequences in detail. In the present question the principles assumed are three, and relate to the specific capacity, the interior conductibility, and the radiation from the surface of bodies. 1st. That in all solid bodies the increments of temperature are proportional to the increments of heat; 2d. That the velocity of the communication of heat through a solid body, the different parts of which have been unequally heated, depends on the relative temperatures of the molecules; and 3d. That

quantity of heat which traverses every element of the surface, and escapes by radiation, is proportional to the excess of the temperature of the cooling body above that of the medium in which it is placed. These three principles, or laws, are expressed by coefficients, which can only be determined by experience for every particular substance, and which are also found not to continue constant, but to vary with the temperature and other circumstances. By means of them all the questions that can be proposed relative to the transmission of heat through a solid body, of a given form and substance, and its successive thermometrical conditions when placed in a medium of a constant temperature, or exposed to the action of any uniform source of exterior heat, admit of being expressed by differential equations.

It seldom happens in the hands of a skilful analyst, that the investigation of a new subject is not attended by some collateral advantages to science, altogether independent of the particular solution sought after. When Fourier undertook to investigate the laws of the motion of heat, the equations comprehending the solutions even of the most elementary questions of the theory were found to be of so intricate a nature that they could not, by any known method, be reduced to such a form as would allow of any certain results being deduced from them. Various methods of treating equations of this class have since been discovered, both by Fourier and the other geometers who have pursued the same track of inquiry. Numerous theorems have been found for the transformation of functions into exponential series and definite integrals, and the calculus of partial differences has been enriched with new and extensive methods of integration, applying to various questions of natural philosophy which had resisted all previous attempts at solution. We cannot in this place pretend to explain the peculiar methods of analysis to which the theory of heat has given rise: they belong to the very highest departments of mathematical science, and deserve to be considered as an important extension of the discoveries of D'Alembert, and the great analysts of the last century.

The most important and interesting application of the mathematical theory of heat is to the temperature of the terrestrial spheroid; but before any inference can be deduced from the hypothesis of a central heat, it is necessary to consider the effect of the solar rays, which, on penetrating the surface, are converted into obscure heat, and therefore have a constant tendency to elevate the temperature of the envelope. The heat, however, which is produced in this manner, does not indefinitely accumulate in the interior. It makes its way only to a certain depth through the materials of the earth, and escapes from the surface by radiation; and so nicely

balanced are the quantities received and radiated away that at the end of the year no sensible trace remains of the sun's calorific impressions. The mean temperature of the year undergoes no permanent change, though it may oscillate from one year to another within certain narrow limits. Below the surface, the heat descends very slowly, and the diurnal and annual variations are only sensible at inconsiderable depths; at greater depths the temperature is nearly uniform, and equal to the mean temperature of the year at the surface. These facts have been long known from experience; but it was of importance to connect them with the general theory, and determine the precise laws of the periodic motion of the solar heat in the interior of the earth.

Assuming that the materials of the earth possess a conducting power equal to that of iron, Fourier found that the utmost depth at which the annual variations of temperature are sensible does not, in our latitudes, exceed 60 metres, or a little more than 65 English yards. The heat descends along the vertical at the rate of about 30 metres in six months, so that at the depth of 60 metres its impressions are only sensible at the end of a year. When a solid body is exposed to the action of a periodic source of exterior heat, as the earth to the rays of the sun, the depths to which its effects penetrate are proportional to the square roots of the periods, or the times in which it passes through all its variations of intensity. Hence the greatest depth to which the diurnal variations of temperature penetrate the earth is about nineteen times less than that reached by the annual variations, the square root of 365 being 19 nearly. The diurnal variations, therefore, are not sensible below the depth of $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards. But the substances which compose the envelope of the earth have in general a much smaller specific conductibility than iron: hence the annual variations must disappear at depths considerably less than 65 yards, and the diurnal at less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ yards. It would be interesting to compare these results of theory with experience, but we yet know too little of the conducting power of the greater part of the materials of the earth; and the observations we possess, though considerable in point of number, have not attained that character of precision which would entitle them to be regarded as tests of theoretical deductions.* The principal advantage which this

* It has been found from the comparison of a considerable number of observations made in various places, that the distribution of heat in the exterior crust of the earth, throughout the northern hemisphere, is nearly as follows:—1st. In the month of August the temperature of the earth decreases in a manner nearly uniform from the surface down to the stratum at which the annual variations disappear, or *the stratum of invariable temperature*. 2d. During the month of September the temperature is nearly uniform from the surface to the depth of about 15 or 20 feet, below which it decreases a

branch of meteorology derives from the application of the calculus is, that the phenomena, formerly anomalous, are thereby reduced to a common theory, and rendered susceptible of numerical estimation.

In treating of the solar influence one of the most interesting points of consideration is the quantity of heat which annually passes from the atmosphere into the earth. This also obviously depends on the conducting power of the materials of the surface. It is proportional to the square root of the product of the capacity for heat referred to the volume, and the permeability. Supposing as before a globe of iron, Fourier found that for the latitude of Paris, the quantity of solar heat which in the course of six months penetrates the earth through an extent of surface equal to a square metre, is equivalent to that which would melt 2856 killogrammes (about 7658lbs. Troy) of ice, or a column of ice having a square metre for its base, and an altitude of about 3 metres. This portion of heat, it will be remarked, is not the whole quantity received from the sun; it is only that which remains after the diurnal and nocturnal radiation, and determines the temperature of the superficial strata. The whole amount of the sun's heating influence has been estimated by Pouillet, who found, from a number of experiments made with an apparatus contrived for the purpose, that the heat which the sun communicates to the earth in the course of a year is equal to that which would suffice to melt a stratum of ice encompassing the whole earth, and about 14 metres or 46 feet in thickness.

Although the variations of temperature, as has already been mentioned, are only sensible at depths that bear but an inconsiderable proportion to the whole radius of the earth, yet the solar heat is diffused through the entire mass in such a way that each point acquires a fixed temperature depending on its situation. The motion of heat through the interior of the globe is performed in two directions, one parallel to the axis of rotation, the other perpendicular to it. The temperature of the elementary particles arranged in a straight line parallel to the axis is unequal, decreasing as we go from the equator; and of three of these par-

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little to the stratum of invariable temperature. 3d. During the months of October and November the temperature increases as we descend to the depth of 15 or 20 feet; below this it is nearly uniform. 4th. During the months of December, January, and February, the temperature increases in a manner nearly uniform from the surface down to the stratum of invariable temperature. 5th. During March and April the temperature decreases very rapidly to the depth of one or two feet; below this its decrease is less rapid, and it begins to increase before we arrive at the invariable stratum. 6th. During the months of May, June, and July, the temperature still decreases as we descend, but less rapidly, and to a greater depth. Before reaching its limit it begins to increase a little, approximating to the temperature of the invariable stratum. —Pouillet, *Elemens de Physique et de Météorologie*, tome ii. pp. 644, 645.

ticles the intermediate one communicates to the following, or that farther from the equator, more heat than it receives from the preceding. On the other hand, of three elementary particles arranged on a straight line perpendicular to the axis, and passing through it, that is to say, arranged on the radius of a parallel circle, the intermediate one communicates to that which is below it less heat than it receives from the element above it in the same time. It thus appears that each element of the sphere gains a certain quantity of heat in the direction perpendicular to the axis, and loses a certain quantity in the direction parallel to the axis; but the gain in the one case is exactly counterbalanced by the loss in the other, so that the temperature of the particle is preserved invariable.

Hence we easily trace the progress of the solar heat in the interior of the earth. Entering at those parts of the surface which are nearest the equator, one portion of it descends towards the centre, while another is turned away in the direction of the axis, and is dissipated in the regions contiguous to the poles. This lateral communication powerfully co-operates with the oceanic and atmospheric currents in transmitting the heat absorbed in the equatoreal regions towards the poles, and consequently in tempering the different climates of the earth.

Considering the sun as the only source of the temperature enjoyed at the earth's surface, we might expect to find the same mean temperature at all places similarly situated in respect of the equator. The mean annual temperature, however, of the different climates, though principally regulated by latitude, is materially affected by divers local circumstances, such as, the configuration and elevation of the ground, the nature of the surface, &c.; and it is to these peculiarities that the notable differences of climates under the same latitude, and even of places not remote from each other, are to be ascribed. The equal distribution of heat over the whole surface of the earth is also interrupted by the elongated form of the earth's orbit, and the greater length of time the one hemisphere is exposed to the direct action of the sun's rays than the other. Though the effects of this cause of irregularity, ought not to be omitted in theory, they are perhaps too small to become sensible to observation; and they do not permanently alter the condition of the spheroid; for we know from the theories of Physical Astronomy that all inequalities of the kind alluded to are ultimately redressed, and that the advantages which the northern hemisphere at present enjoys will, in course of time, be transferred to the southern, through the gradual displacement of the greater axis of the terrestrial orbit. The variation of the eccentricity of that orbit also influences the total quantity of heat derived from the sun, causing it alternately to increase and decrease in periods belonging to the different inequalities, so

that the solar heat is regulated, both in respect of absolute quantity and equable distribution, by the general laws which govern the universe. But the inequalities are all periodic, and the constant tendency of the solar action is to establish an equilibrium of heat through the whole mass of the earth, after which its condition in respect of temperature becomes permanently fixed.

From this theory of the motion of solar heat the conclusions to be drawn are, 1st, that it does not indefinitely accumulate in the interior of the earth, and 2dly, that if there exists no other source of heat, the temperature must gradually decrease as we descend in the vertical, after having passed the stratum which limits the annual variations. We now pass to the consideration of the temperature of the spaces in which the earth performs its revolution, as that temperature affects not only the state of the surface, but also the permanent condition at which the globe ultimately arrives.

The earth, in common with the other planetary bodies, may be regarded as placed within an envelope of which the temperature is uniform and constant, and equal to that which would be indicated by a thermometer placed any where within the sphere of Uranus, supposing the sun and his whole train of planets removed. There are evidently no direct means of ascertaining the temperature of the regions beyond the atmosphere, or even at a considerable height above the earth; but from its connexion with the superficial temperature it may be estimated indirectly, and there are various reasons for supposing it to be little inferior to that which prevails at the terrestrial poles. The rays of light proceeding from innumerable stars, however feeble their impressions, cannot be supposed destitute of a heating influence; and if, as many phenomena lead us to believe, an elastic medium pervades all space, that also, like all other matter, must have a certain capacity for heat. But whether the temperature of the planetary spaces is caused by stellar radiation, or is regarded as belonging to the elastic medium, the mathematical investigation of the state of the surface of the earth proves that there must exist a fundamental temperature independent of the sun or any source of internal heat, otherwise the superficial temperature would be very different, and its decrease from the equator to the poles incomparably greater than it actually is. Were the earth to revolve in a medium *absolutely cold*, the slightest variations of the sun's distance would occasion sensible changes of temperature, and the diurnal alterations would be fatal to organic life. All these effects, it is true, are modified by the presence of the atmosphere, yet the comparatively small variations of temperature which actually take place are incompatible with the existence of a cold in the planetary regions much superior to that which produces the congelation of mercury. On com-

puting the degree of temperature which it is necessary to suppose the medium in which the earth is placed to possess, in order that the thermometrical state of the surface may be such as is actually observed, Fourier found that the existing phenomena correspond to those which would result from the supposition that the celestial spaces have a temperature of about—50°, centigrade division, or —58° of Fahrenheit's scale.

This curious result of theory has lately been in some measure confirmed by the calculations of Svanberg, a Swedish mathematician, who, as appears from the annual report made by Berzelius to the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm for 1829, having investigated the same subject by a process of reasoning entirely different from that of Fourier, arrived at the same conclusion, the temperature which he found being—50°.35 centigrade, or—58°.6 of Fahrenheit.

Some interesting conclusions relative to the thermometrical state of the different planets may be drawn from the supposition of a uniform temperature throughout the spaces occupied by the system. No idea can be formed of the mean temperature enjoyed by each planet, depending, as it does, on the presence of an atmosphere and the nature of the surface; but it is probable that at their poles their respective temperatures are nearly equal, and the same as that which prevails at the poles of the earth. The same temperature also, probably belongs to the surface of the remotest planets; for at their distance the impressions of the sun's rays, even when aided by the most favourable disposition of the surface, are too feeble to produce any great elevation of temperature. Hence we perceive the futility of all those dreary speculations, in which the descriptive astronomers of the last century were so prone to indulge, respecting the prevalence of an unlimited cold at the surfaces of the distant planets. At the Georgium Sidus, the cold is in all probability not greater than that to which Captain Parry and his ship's company were exposed during their sojourn at Melville Island.

While regarded as a question of mere speculation and unsupported by any experimental proof, the hypothesis of a central heat was rendered probable from the explanation it affords of many striking physical and geological phenomena. But, considering the tendency of heat to uniform diffusion, it seemed difficult to reconcile its existence with the moderate temperature which prevails at the surface; the geologists, therefore, who have ascribed the actual state of the earth's surface to the agency of fire, have in general contented themselves with assuming its partial or casual action, and its subsequent dissipation into the void spaces of the universe. A more correct knowledge of the laws by which

heat is diffused through solid bodies, and the mathematical investigation of the consequences of these laws, have entirely changed the state of the question. It is now demonstrated that there may exist, not only at the centre of the earth, but even at comparatively small depths under the surface, a degree of heat capable of fusing and retaining in a liquid state the most refractory substances with which we are acquainted.

The following are the most remarkable deductions made by Fourier from the analytical investigation of the hypothesis of an internal heat. Supposing the conducting power of the materials of the earth to equal that of iron, and that the temperature increases by a thirtieth of a centesimal degree for every metre of vertical descent, (about an 18th of a degree of Fahrenheit for every yard, which is the rate of increase indicated by observation,) the enormous heat accumulated in the interior would cause an augmentation of temperature at the surface amounting only to a quarter of a degree above that which is due to the heating effects of the sun. This small addition to the effects of solar heat is in proportion to the conducting powers of the envelope, all other circumstances remaining the same; consequently as the conductibility of the superficial materials of the earth is considerably less than that of iron, the augmentation of temperature just mentioned is estimated too high, and probably does not exceed the thirtieth part of a centesimal degree. Hence the effects of a central heat are altogether insensible at the surface.

But though the primitive heat, still preserved in the interior of the earth, exercises so small an influence on the superficial temperature, it may be very manifest even at inconsiderable depths; and at the depth of only a few thousand yards may be greater than that of incandescent matter. According to Fourier, if the whole mass of the earth below the depth of twelve leagues were removed, and its place occupied by any substance whatever having a temperature five hundred times greater than that of boiling water, not less than two hundred thousand years would elapse before it penetrated through the envelope and increased the superficial temperature by a single degree. So slowly does heat find its way through substances such as those which form the exterior crust of the earth, that the depth of a few leagues is sufficient to render the impressions of the most intense heat insensible during twenty centuries.

It is a consequence of the differential equation embracing the conditions of the question, that if we suppose a very high temperature to have at one time pervaded the whole mass of the earth, the increase which necessarily takes place in descending along the vertical, must at some distant period of time have been much greater than it now is, and that the rate of increase at pre-

sent varies with extreme slowness. The excess of temperature at the surface above that which is due to the sun's action, also varies according to the same law as the increase in vertical descent, so that it must likewise have been formerly greater: its secular diminution, or the rate at which it diminishes in a century, is equal to its present value divided by twice the number of centuries elapsed since the commencement of the cooling. Computing by this rule, we find that during the last 2000 years the temperature at the surface of the earth has not sunk, through the cooling of the whole globe, so much as the three-hundredth part of a degree. This result, which is entirely independent of the primitive state of the globe, and holds true in every hypothesis that can be formed respecting its original temperature, shows that the earth has now reached a state of equilibrium from which it will not sensibly depart in any assignable length of time. It is curious to perceive the same character of stability impressed on all the great efforts of nature. After a certain time has elapsed, (a very long one indeed in reference to the duration of human life, or the monuments of human labour,) the initial disposition ceases to influence the system, and may be regarded as a circumstance entirely contingent and fortuitous. The temperature of the earth's surface may be considered as equally fixed, and equally unsusceptible of permanent change, as the dimensions of its orbit and the period of its annual revolution.

Although in the present state of the earth the cooling proceeds with extreme slowness, it can never entirely cease till the whole mass has acquired the same fixed temperature. The minute portion of heat which escapes from the surface is even measurable, being expressed in the differential equations of the question. The quantity which is radiated away, through a given extent of surface, in the course of a century, and is dissipated in space, is equal to that which would be required to melt a column of ice having the same surface for its base and an altitude of about three metres. This result depends only on the nature of the surface, and not in any way on the dimensions of the earth, or the materials of which its interior is composed.

Notwithstanding the regular disposition effected by heat in the interior of solids, it does not follow that the whole nucleus of the earth, or even those parts of it which are similarly situated in respect of the centre, must have the same temperature. It is one of the theoretical results, that if the different parts of the mass had originally different temperatures in consequence of having been irregularly heated, the system of original temperatures might be such that the relations primarily established among them would be preserved during the whole time of cooling, that there exists, in short, for every solid an infinity of modes in which

the heat may be propagated and dissipated, without deranging in any degree the law of its original distribution. When one of these states has been formed, all the temperatures will diminish at the same time, preserving their first relations.

Such are the principal results deduced by Fourier from the hypothesis of an intense heat in the interior of the earth. It is evident that they afford no direct proof of the existence of such a heat, but they demonstrate that its existence is perfectly compatible with all the phenomena at the surface. The primitive heat which fused all the materials of the globe may still remain in all its original intensity at the centre; or, if we can suppose the earth to have existed through the millions of ages that would be necessary for the effect to take place, it may have been dissipated long ago by radiation. The proofs of a subterraneous heat must therefore be sought for elsewhere than in the results of analysis. However, a great object has been gained to science in the establishment of the laws of the motion of solar heat, and in the reduction of questions of this nature to mathematical investigation; and from the success already obtained, there is reason to hope that the most important questions of cosmology may be solved, without doing violence to the laws of mechanics, or neglecting any of the chemical and physical properties of matter. If the hypothesis be true, and the primitive fluidity of the globe resulted from the fusion of its materials by heat, a regular increase of temperature must be observed in descending along the vertical, when we have passed the limits of the annual variations. These limits are situated at depths not inaccessible. It is therefore by multiplied observations, made with due care on the temperature of mines and deep caverns, that the thermometrical state of the interior of the globe can be determined, and the central heat indicated by so many geological phenomena ultimately established. It has already been remarked, that a temperature increasing with the depth cannot result from the action of the solar heat: if, therefore, the existence of such a temperature is confirmed by experience, the hypothesis of a central heat may be regarded as proved.

Before proceeding to consider the principal observations that have been collected relative to the temperature of the lower strata, it will be proper to advert to an objection which has been frequently urged against Fourier's theory, and which goes to vitiate all the preceding results. These results have been deduced from the supposition that the three fundamental laws above mentioned relative to the motion of heat, are expressed by coefficients which remain invariable through every change of temperature. Now it has long been suspected, and has latterly been demonstrated by the accurate experiments of Dulong and Petit,

that the co-efficients expressing the specific qualities are liable to variation, and that above or below certain limits of temperature their numerical values undergo a total change. Unfortunately we possess no means of exactly estimating the magnitude of the error occasioned by the erroneous supposition of constant co-efficients, as the law and extent of their variations is very imperfectly known; but as the most important conclusions belong to the exterior crust of the earth, and consequently correspond to a range of temperature within which the variations of the co-efficients are inconsiderable, we may safely assume that they are not sensibly affected. The numerical results, which at best are only given as examples of the application of the calculus, are rendered much more uncertain from our inaccurate knowledge of the absolute values of the specific qualities belonging to the different materials of the earth, at a moderate temperature, than from any changes which they undergo. But the objection, however it may affect the numerical results above stated, no longer applies to the mathematical theory, which the labours of Fourier have rendered complete. In the last memoir which he presented to the Academy of Sciences, the equations of the problem were extended so as to embrace the general case in which the specific co-efficients are subject to variations depending on the temperature, the depth, and the density, and all the changes indicated which such variations would introduce into the formulæ derived from the supposition of constant co-efficients. The analytic solution therefore applies, by means of successive approximations, to every case of the question. A result is first obtained on a restricted hypothesis; formulæ are subsequently given, by means of which one or more terms may be added, in the form of corrections, to the first solution, as more extensive and precise observations shall show them to be due to the variations. Thus the accuracy of the final results is only subordinate to our knowledge of certain laws which can be determined by experiment alone, and is not affected by any want of power in the calculus to include all the necessary conditions of the problem. Those of Fourier may be considered as approximating sufficiently to the truth, to answer all the purposes of general reasoning; and, in the present state of our knowledge, it would be needless to embarrass a subject, already sufficiently intricate, by substituting more complicated hypothetical laws in place of those which belong to moderate temperatures. The laws of nature ought to be explained by such properties as we know to belong to matter in determinate conditions.

To ascertain the temperature of the earth at the bottom of a deep mine or excavation, may seem a very simple affair, yet few observers appear to have had any accurate conception of the numerous circumstances to which it is indispensable to attend, in

order to obtain any thing like a precise result. The temperature of the air near the bottom of a mine cannot be taken as a test of the temperature of the earth; it is affected by its communication with the exterior atmosphere, the presence of workmen and their lights, even by that of the observer, to an extent which cannot be accurately estimated, but which may amount to several degrees. Nor can the temperature of water found in mines, coming probably from a distance, and carrying with it the temperature belonging to a different level, be considered in general as giving a more correct indication. For these reasons, a thermometrical observation is of little value, unless it has been made in the rock itself, or is accompanied with sufficient details to enable us to estimate the influence of all the accidental and disturbing circumstances. Hence the small number of them in our possession capable of being used in an investigation where precision and accuracy are required, and the still recent date at which they began to be made. About the year 1740 it was remarked by Gensanne, in the lead mines of Giromagny near Béfort, that the temperature increases with the depth. Saussure afterwards remarked the same fact to hold true in the salt mines at Bex in Switzerland; but the eyes of naturalists were not open to the full importance of attending to the temperature of the lower strata, till Humboldt had executed an extensive and interesting series of observations in the mines of Freyburg in 1791. Since that time, and more particularly since the publication of the researches of the same illustrious philosopher in America, more attention has been given to the subject; and the observations now accumulated, though still too few in number, and too discordant, to warrant any precise conclusions respecting the thermometrical state of the interior of the globe, already form a vast collection of equal importance to meteorology and geology.*

By far the best set of observations we possess on the temperature of deep places, is that which has been uninterruptedly continued during the last forty years in the caves under the observatory of Paris. In 1783, the Count de Cassini, in concert with Lavoisier, placed a very delicate thermometer in one of these excavations, for the purpose of observing the curious phenomenon of an invariable temperature, which had been noticed to exist in the same place by the first Cassini in 1671, as well as Lahire in 1730. The thermometer is placed at the depth of 28 metres, (30·6 yards,) under the surface, in a bed of fine sand, and during the last 33 years, in which it has been observed by Bouvard, it

* The reader will find the interesting subject of terrestrial temperature discussed with great perspicuity and considerable detail in De la Beche's Geological Manual, a work which, we regret, was not published till after the present article was prepared for the press.

has indicated no change of temperature, or at least its oscillations have not exceeded the $\frac{1}{33}$ of a centesimal degree. The temperature which it marks is 11°·82, centigrade division; theme an temperature of the year at Paris is only 10°·6, whence the constant temperature at the depth of 28 metres exceeds by 1°·2, or 2°·16 of Fahrenheit's scale, the mean temperature at the surface. The depth, therefore, which corresponds to an increase of temperature amounting to 1°, is about $23\frac{1}{3}$ metres ($25\frac{2}{3}$ yards); and, supposing an uniform increase at the same rate, we should arrive at the temperature of boiling water at the depth of 2333 metres, or 2542 yards below Paris. These observations, though confined to a single place, are of great importance, in consequence of the length of time they have been continued; and even if we had no corroborative evidence, we might safely conclude from them that there exists every where, at a certain depth under the surface, a stratum of invariable temperature, differing little from the mean temperature of the surface placed vertically above it. The depth at which this stratum is situated under any given place, depends on the latitude, the nature of the surface, the permeability of the soil, and other causes, and can therefore only be determined by experiment.

Though few of the observations, especially of the more ancient ones, we yet possess on the temperature of mines are sufficiently precise to enable us to determine the depth of the stratum of invariable temperature, or the rate of increase which takes place from the surface downwards, yet when due allowance is made for the accidental and extraneous causes, they lead to valuable results. M. Cordier, in the memoir cited at the beginning of this article, discusses about three hundred observations made in France, Switzerland, Saxony, Great Britain, Peru, and Mexico, and enters into a minute examination of the different accidental causes by which the observed temperatures can be supposed to be affected. He divides the observations into three classes, namely, those made on the air, those made on the water, and those made on the solid rock, at the bottom of mines.

With regard to the first class of observations it may be remarked, that when the mine communicates with the exterior atmosphere, a draught or current of air is always established, which in cold weather is very considerable. The air introduced in this manner circulates about the humid sides of the mine, and loses by evaporation a portion of heat proportional to its dryness, initial temperature, and the quantity introduced. This loss is partially counteracted by the increased atmospheric pressure, which causes an evolution of heat amounting to five or six-tenths of a degree for every hundred metres of depth. But this quan-

tity is too small to produce any sensible effect, and on the whole it is certain that the temperature of a mass of air introduced into a mine, in the course of a year, is considerably *lower* than the mean temperature of the country for the same year. Cordier estimates the difference at two or three centigrade degrees for the greater part of mines in our climates. Nor is the introduction of fresh currents of air the only cause which tends to disturb the temperature in deep mines. The affluent water, bringing with it the temperature belonging either to a higher or a lower level, according as it comes from above or below, contributes by its contact to modify the temperature of the air, though in a degree that cannot be exactly estimated. Here then we have two accidental causes affecting the temperature of the air at the bottom of deep mines; but there is a third cause of derangement, of which the influence may be computed from more precise data. It consists in the heat developed by the workmen and the lights necessary for their operations. The computations into which Cordier enters on this head are in themselves not destitute of interest.

From the experiments of Despretz on animal heat, it results that an ordinary-sized man disengages by mere respiration in twenty-four hours, a quantity of heat equal to that which would raise one gramme of water 3,237,417 centigrade degrees, that is to say, 15·4 troy grains through 5,827,350 degrees of Fahrenheit, and this is only three-fourths of the whole quantity of heat produced by the individual in the same time. The total quantity of heat, therefore, which he disengages in a hour would elevate the temperature of 2184lbs. troy of water by 1°·8 of Fahrenheit. Now to compare this effect with that of the same quantity of heat on air, Cordier supposes the specific heat of air at 53°·6 of Fahrenheit to be to that of water as 1 to ·2667 (the ratio found by Laroche and Berard), whence, having also regard to their specific densities, he finds definitively that a miner in one hour disengages a portion of heat that would suffice to raise 542 cubic metres, or 709 cubic yards of air through 1°·8 of Fahrenheit, the initial temperature being 53°·6. Now with respect to the lights employed, it follows from the experiments of Count Rumford on the evolution of heat by combustion, that a lamp consuming 15 grammes, or 232 troy grains of oil per hour, would elevate by one centesimal degree the temperature of a mass of air measuring 409 cubic metres or 535 cubic yards. Hence, the heat produced by four such lamps is equivalent to that of three workmen. The heat produced by the combustion of tallow is somewhat less, the consumption of 232 grains per hour being required to raise one degree the temperature of a mass of air measuring only 378 cubic metres or 494 yards. It may therefore be computed that

the presence of 200 miners and 200 lamps, suitably disposed, would cause an elevation of temperature, amounting to 1°·8 of Fahrenheit, of the whole air filling a gallery twenty-four leagues in length and measuring one metre by two, the initial temperature of the air being 53°·6. The influence of so great a quantity of heat may easily be imagined; and when we add this to the other causes of uncertainty already enumerated, it will be evident that a simple observation of the thermometer in the gallery of a mine affords a very imperfect indication of the temperature of the strata at the same level. In one instance Cordier found the temperature of the air at the bottom of a mine 196 yards in depth to be 74°, while that of the rock was ascertained by direct experiment to be only 62°·8. This, however, would seem to be an extreme case. The accidental sources of error have doubtless a very considerable influence, but they are not by any means adequate to explain the whole difference observed between the temperature at the bottom and at the surface; and it may be assumed in general, that, after making the utmost probable allowance for them, they can only cause an oscillation of a very few degrees above or below the real temperature of the corresponding level.

Experiments on the temperature of the water found at the bottom of mines are perhaps still more liable to give inaccurate results, and can seldom be trusted. If the water exists in small quantity its temperature is affected by the air; if collected in wells, it partakes of the temperatures of all the streamlets by which it is supplied, and of all the sources from which they flow. It almost invariably happens that the results obtained in this manner indicate a lower temperature than that which belongs to the solid rock at the same level. Water long stagnant in mines, especially where it exists in considerable quantity, and is consequently less affected by the influence of the air, may be considered as having a temperature approximating more nearly to the temperature of the rock; but on the other hand, if it is very deep, and the hypothesis of a temperature increasing with the depth is true, the water at the bottom becomes heated, in consequence of which its specific gravity is diminished, and it rises to the surface. This action continues till the whole mass of water acquires a temperature nearly approaching to that of the strata at the bottom. For all these reasons the observations that have been made on the water in mines are very unsatisfactory. Taken as a whole they are favourable to the hypothesis of an internal high temperature, but they present too little agreement among themselves to give any correct information respecting its rate of increase.

Very few direct observations on the temperature of the rock at great depths have yet been made, though these obviously afford the most correct data. In a copper mine at Dolcoath, in Corn-

wall, a thermometer was kept eighteen months buried in the rock to the depth of a yard. The depth of the mine was 459 yards. The temperature indicated by the thermometer was 75°·5 of Fahrenheit; the temperature of the country is 50°; consequently the increase of heat is at the rate of one degree for every eighteen yards.

From a careful discussion of all the published observations, M. Cordier considers the two following conclusions to be established: 1st, That below the stratum, where the annual variations of the solar heat cease to be sensible, a notable increase of temperature takes place as we descend into the interior of the earth; and 2d, That the discrepancies presented by the results depend not only on the imperfection of instruments and an incorrect allowance for the extraneous modifying causes, but also on a certain irregularity in the distribution of the subterraneous heat. In all countries where observations have been made below the stratum of invariable temperature, the temperatures have been found, without exception, to increase with the depth; but much uncertainty still remains as to the rate of increase. With a view to the more accurate determination of this important element, M. Cordier himself, with a perfect knowledge of all the precautions necessary to be used, undertook to examine the temperature of several coal mines in France. At Carmeaux, the mean of his observations gave 21 yards as the depth corresponding to an increased temperature of 1° of Fahrenheit, at Littry 11½ yards, and at Decise 9 yards; results far from presenting a satisfactory coincidence. We may quote a few other results of observation. The mean of a great number of observations made in the mines of Cornwall and Devonshire by Mr. W. Fox, and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1821 and 1822, gives 15 yards as the depth corresponding to an increase of 1° of Fahrenheit. In the coal mines of Brittany the same mean depth is found to be 25 yards; at Bex, in Switzerland, 15·7 yards; in Saxony, 24 yards; at Guanaxato, in America, 15 yards. M. Cordier considers that 15 yards may be provisionally assumed as the average depth corresponding to an increase of 1° of Fahrenheit.

Some naturalists have attempted to decide the question of an interior heat by experiments on the temperature of the ocean. Accordingly, thermometers, having their bulbs covered by substances of small conducting powers, have been sunk to great depths, and in general the indicated temperatures have been found lower in proportion as the depths were greater. This result might indeed have been anticipated from the fluidity of the water, and the consequent liberty which its molecules have of arranging themselves according to their density. In lakes for

example, where the water is not subject to great agitation, when the superficial stratum becomes colder than those immediately under it its density increases; the water consequently descends to the bottom, while that which it displaces mounts upward to be cooled and descend in its turn. Thus an infinity of different motions is established, the general effect of which is to transport the heat to the surface. Hence the increase of temperature which is observed in carrying the thermometer into the interior of the solid earth cannot subsist with regard to deep lakes; in fact, the order of the temperature is here reversed. But the cold at the bottom is limited by that singular property of water (of fresh water at least, for the experiments of Dr. Marcet and Erman have made it doubtful if the water of the sea acquires its maximum density before its temperature sinks to the freezing point,) in virtue of which it acquires its maximum density when its temperature is a few degrees above the freezing point. When the temperature sinks lower, the water remains to congeal at the surface. The temperature of water, therefore, at great depths, must approach that which corresponds to the greatest density. This theoretical inference is confirmed by experiments on the Swiss lakes, which, being of too great a depth to be affected by the annual variation of the solar heat, preserve near their bottoms a constant temperature of about 41° of Fahrenheit.* In open seas, however, these results are greatly modified, and indeed may be completely altered by currents, and other causes, in consequence of which the distribution of temperature in the ocean is rendered a very curious and difficult problem. It seems to be established by experiment, that between the tropics the temperature diminishes with the depth; while within the Polar seas it increases with the depth. This last fact, which is singular, is confirmed by the observations of Scoresby, Parry, and Franklin. Between the latitudes of 30° and 70° the temperature decreases with the depth, but the decrease is less as the latitude is greater. Near the parallel of 70° it begins to increase.

The evidence furnished by the numerous experiments to which we have alluded must be regarded as conclusive, unless the inference to which they point is at variance with some of the known laws of matter. But we have seen that the hypothesis of a subterraneous heat, existing in the interior of the earth since the origin of things, involves no mathematical consequence contrary to the known laws of the propagation of heat; it remains, therefore, only to consider how far its physical consequences agree with the actual phenomena.

If we admit an increase of temperature amounting to 1° of Fahrenheit for every 15 yards of vertical descent, the intensity of

* De la Beche's Geological Manual, p. 21.

heat at the centre must rise to 3500° of Wedgewood's pyrometer. The temperature of 100° of Wedgewood, which is sufficient to fuse the lavas and the greater part of the known rocks, would be found at the depth of about 120 miles. It is, however, probable that the mean thickness of the solid crust of the earth is far short of this quantity, and Cordier is even of opinion that the phenomena warrant the conclusion that it does not exceed 60 miles. Hence a strong presumption in support of the inference, that the consolidation of the exterior crust is the effect of a gradual cooling. But if this is the case, the consolidation must have commenced at the surface and proceeded towards the interior; and therefore, contrary to the received opinions of geologists, the primitive rocks are the more ancient in proportion as they are nearer the surface. It follows also, that the strata ought to be arranged in the order of fusibility *nearly*, some interruption to this order being allowed in consequence of the rapidity of cooling at the origin of the world, and the chemical affinities acting on the vast mass of the globe. Now it is found in fact that the magnesian, calcareous, and quartzose (the most fusible) rocks, are those nearest the surface.

Another inevitable consequence of the hypothesis is a contraction of the dimensions of the earth, through the diminution of its temperature. It is evident that even a slight contraction of the central parts must cause a subsidence and approximation of the elementary masses of the exterior crust, and a consequent dislocation of its parts. This may account for the numerous fissures and cracks, and the general irregularity of the disposition and inclination of the superior strata; for unless the strata are concentric, and the fissures perpendicular to the surface, the subsidence cannot be uniform. By reason of this want of regularity the subsidence is not so general as to cause a very extensive change of level, though it may be sufficiently great to explain certain phenomena not easily accounted for otherwise. Such are the observed or suspected secular diminution of the water of the Baltic, and the change of level of the Mediterranean observed on the coast of Egypt. But the most general effect of the contraction of the materials of the earth is an acceleration of its rotatory motion. In consequence of a mechanical relation subsisting between the dimensions of the earth and the period of its rotation, if its volume undergoes a contraction its rotatory motion will be accelerated; whence, by reason of the increased centrifugal force, the level of the ocean will be raised a little between the tropics, and lowered in the polar regions, so that the northern parts of the continents of Europe and Asia are gradually elevated above the general surface. In this way the numerous islands of

the South Sea may be supposed to be the summits of mountains of part of the Asiatic Continent now submerged. The same relation also affords a means of measuring the secular contraction, for the length of the day is an astronomical element of such importance, that the slightest variation would immediately be detected. But observations are sufficiently precise to make it certain, that since the time of Hipparchus, or during the last two thousand years, the length of the day has not varied by the 200th part of a second. Hence, if the contraction still continues, it must be at a rate almost infinitely slow. The amount of contraction, however, cannot safely be taken as a measure of the loss of temperature. The cooling takes place under circumstances very different from those in which bodies are placed when exposed to the free action of the atmosphere, and the ordinary laws of contraction must be greatly modified by the enormous pressure at the depth of 20 leagues under the surface.

The phenomena of volcanos, hot springs, and earthquakes, which have occupied so much of the attention of geologists, are explained with singular felicity by means of the hypothesis under consideration: they appear, indeed, to be simple and necessary consequences of the progressive cooling of the earth. Our limits, however, will only allow us to give a short outline.

The interior fluid mass not only fills exactly the consolidated crust, but sustains a pressure equal to the weight of a vertical column reaching to the surface. Now the capacity of this envelope undergoes a slow but constant diminution from the operation of two causes, one of which indeed is a necessary consequence of the other. In the first place, it is diminished from the contraction of its molecules by cooling; and in the second place, as the contraction produces a corresponding acceleration of the rotatory motion, and a consequent increase of ellipticity from the augmented centrifugal force, it is diminished from the change of figure. The increased pressure on the fluid mass resulting from this diminution of the capacity of the envelope, is also, in all probability, aided by the expansive force of gases generated during the process of consolidation. The combined energies of these forces, acting on the interior mass, which, like all other fluids, offers a strong resistance to compression, cause its eruption through the solid strata, and violent ejection in the form of lavas. Here we have at once an explanation of the peculiarities attending volcanic eruptions, of the great depths at which the source of action is manifestly situated, of the nature of the lavas, and the general similarity of the products of each eruption. Hence, also, the great diminution of their number since the origin of the world. In proportion as the consolidated crust of the earth becomes

thicker it offers a greater resistance, and the depth from which the lava is raised is at the same time increased; a greater force is therefore necessary to produce an eruption, and the number of volcanos, as well as the quantity of matter ejected, must continue to diminish. The number still in activity, and their distribution over every part of the earth, attest the universality of the cause which produces them. It may also be remarked, that the forces here supposed in action are perhaps the only ones capable of producing the effect. Supposing the lavas to come from the depth of 60 miles, it is easy to compute from their specific gravities, that they must have sustained the action of a force not less than 28,000 atmospheres.

It has been found that the greater part of the substances contained in mineral and thermal waters are analogous to those which are expelled from craters, during or after the eruption of lava. It is therefore probable that they have the same origin in the fluid mass under the consolidated crust of the earth. An immense expansive force propels them upwards through a succession of narrow chinks and fissures; and their expulsion causes a diminution of the gaseous charge which is continually repaired by new subterraneous products. Hence the permanence of their sources, their almost invariable temperature, and the singular nature of their principles.

The expansive power of the gases, which it is very probable are formed during the consolidation of the fluid matter, also explains the origin of earthquakes. Acting on the exterior crust, which is variable and irregular both in strength and thickness, it occasions those heavings of the earth which in some countries are alike frequent and disastrous. In remote ages, when the crust of the earth was less thick than it is now, these phenomena must have been of much more frequent occurrence. It also follows, that when the gaseous charge finds an outlet by volcanic eruption, the force of earthquakes must be diminished; and it is found by experience, that they are commonly most severe in non-volcanic countries. The frequent occurrence of both phenomena in the same country indicates a partial weakness of the consolidated crust.

The last circumstance to which we shall allude, as tending to confirm the hypothesis of a central heat, is the mean density of the earth, which is known to be only about five times greater than that of water. Now so small a density as this appears to be utterly inconsistent with the compressibility of the materials of the globe, unless we can suppose that the enormous pressure at considerable depths is counterbalanced by the antagonist force of heat. Such are the effects that ought to result from the mere in-

cumbent weight of the materials of the crust of the earth that at the depth of 35 miles air would acquire the density of water; at the depth of 173 miles water itself, which is eminently incompressible, would acquire the density of marble; and at the centre marble would have a density 119 times greater than at the surface.* These results, prodigious as they may appear, are only computed on the supposition of a uniform structure of the materials of the globe, and would become vastly greater, if regard was had to the augmented force arising from condensation. They are also inevitable if the substances which compose the nucleus have any analogy with those which are found at the surface. Hence some speculators have been led to imagine that we tread on a crust or hollow shell, of which the thickness bears but a small proportion to the radius of the earth. This hypothesis is, however, at variance with every analogy; and it has besides been demonstrated by Poisson, from astronomical considerations, that the density must continue to increase to a depth at least equal to one-fourth of the radius. It is therefore infinitely probable that the density increases to the centre, and that the condensation of the materials is opposed by the accumulating intensity and expansive force of heat. With reference to this subject Mr. Leslie has ventured to throw out the bold and original idea, that the only medium possessing sufficient elasticity or internal repulsion among its molecules to resist the effects of compression is *Light!* the most diffusive of all substances. "The great central cavity," says this ingenious and learned philosopher, "is not that dark and dreary abyss which the fancy of poets had pictured. On the contrary, this spacious internal vault must contain the purest ethereal essence, *Light*, in its most concentrated state, shining with intense refulgence and overpowering splendour."†

ART. III.—*Etudes ou Discours Historiques sur la Chute de l'Empire Romain, la Naissance et les Progrès du Christianisme, et l'Invasion des Barbares; suivis d'une analyse raisonnée de l'Histoire de France.* Par M. Le Vicomte de Chateaubriand. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1831.

AN inquiry into the general literary merit of M. de Chateaubriand is not the object of the following observations. It is not intended that our remarks should extend to any work of the

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* Leslie's *Elements of Natural Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 451. † Ib. 453.

noble author except the one placed at the head of the present article.

If M. de Chateaubriand's *Etudes Historiques* had been separated from all considerations but their own intrinsic merits, they would neither have deserved nor received remark. They offer, however, from the discussions into which the author enters, an exceedingly apt opportunity for considering the present very remarkable situation of French historical literature. This situation M. de Chateaubriand attempts to describe: he endeavours, moreover, to estimate the various excellencies of the different schools which in France are now busied in historical investigations—to hold the balance between the opposite parties, and by avoiding the extremes of any, to attain the excellencies of all. He appears, however, to have misconceived the differences which really do exist; and while constituting himself the arbiter in the dispute, to have fruitlessly endeavoured to discover who were the contending parties, the subject-matter of their difference, and the end which they had separately in view.

The subject-matter of dispute is twofold. M. de Chateaubriand considers it single. The schools, therefore, if schools there be, are four, instead of two. The one dispute refers to the philosophy of history—the other to the mode of writing it; the one regards the interpretation of events—the other the manner in which they ought to be related. If we divide historical writers with reference to these two sets of opinions, we must make two separate, or what logicians term *cross* divisions; and consequently, in this case, at least *four* parties. M. de Chateaubriand has opposed two of the schools taking their rise from or being distinguished by these distinct matters of difference to each other, thus clearly evincing that he has not seized, certainly not appreciated, the points in debate. The two schools he mentions are, first, *l'école descriptive;* second, *l'école fataliste.* Now seeing that the ground of this classification is twofold, a writer may at the same time be of one school and the other; adopting the *philosophy* of the *école fataliste,* he may employ the *manner* of the *école descriptive;* or, *vice versa,* he may repugn both the fatalism and the descriptive manner. How then can these schools be opposed to each other? It remains now to state the questions really in debate, commencing with the dispute respecting the philosophy of history. This dispute has arisen in consequence of the views lately taken respecting the determining circumstances of that chain of events which constitutes the history of mankind. We will endeavour to make the opinions on this subject as simple and plain as the nature of the case will permit.

It is evident to all those who have examined with completeness as well as accuracy the nature of mankind, that the conduct of men in masses, acting as members of a society, cannot be predicted merely from a knowledge of their temper, character and conduct, viewed as separate individuals: in other words, that no knowledge, however accurate or complete, of the individual in his individual capacity, is, without specific experience, a sufficient guide by which to understand his nature when acting as a member of society.* This circumstance, which is by no means apparent to superficial observation, is attended with important consequences as respects the attainment of a knowledge of human nature, and its practical application when obtained. It is the former of these consequences which we have at present specially to consider.

The fact as here stated, of itself induced the necessity of political or social history. A new branch of science has to be explored, viz. the social nature of man. To the formation of this science a body of evidence is required. The relation of the conduct of political societies forms that body of evidence, and this relation is political or social history.

The most difficult inquiry in the science itself is, when does the individual become merged in the social man? To what degree, and in what way, is the conduct of the mass determined by the nature of its individual component parts? On the determination of this question must rest the answer to the inquiry, how far do events depend upon individuals—what influence have determinate men exercised in the bringing forth of certain events—in how far are those events the necessary consequences of circumstances not connected with the character of any given individual? We suspect that no man would go the length of saying, that events are never, and in no degree, influenced by the character of individuals; but there is now a class of historians who exclude this individual influence to so large a degree, and ascribe so much to the mere influence of what they term events, meaning events unconnected with the conduct or wishes of any single individual, that they have acquired the appellation of the *école fataliste*. Individuals are by them considered mere machines, driven by a *necessity*, unconnected with their own peculiar or individual will, to play a certain part in one great whole—to make one necessary link in a necessary chain. During the last century there was a

* A curious exemplification of this fact is given by Dr. Whateley, in the case which he puts of an orator addressing an assembly of persons collected in one room, or the same persons shut up in separate stalls. See his "Rhetoric."

tendency to run to the opposite extreme; to consider the fortunes of society as dependent on the merest trifles—trifles which, while subject to a strange fatality, were utterly unconnected with the feelings or wishes of the mass of mankind—which were beyond the power of human calculation, and wholly dependent on the whim of individuals. This was a fatality of a very different description from that now in vogue. Voltaire, with that spirit of bitter mockery which characterized so much of his writing, delighted in attempts to humble the vanity of mankind, by tracing to insignificant causes the most stupendous revolutions. The curious caricature of his own system, in his *romance* styled *Les Oreilles du Comte de Chesterfield*, is hardly an exaggeration of many of his own historical deductions.* As knowledge increased, however, it was perceived that historians generally had seldom penetrated below the surface; that they had confined their attention solely to a few individuals placed in eminent situations, and erroneously ascribed all the various changes in the fortunes of mankind to their particular influence. A more careful and profound investigation discovered that causes deeply hidden, but ever active and mighty in their import, had been at work, which individuals, however powerful, had little modified—causes which went steadily on to their effects through all time and every fortune. These and their effects being viewed at one glance through a long course of years, seemed, from their steady progression, to be above any human controul: an impulse appeared to be given which beat down resistance, and swept away all means of opposition: century succeeded to century, and the philosopher could see the same influence still potent, still undeviating and regular: to him, considering these ages at once, following with rapid thought the slow pace of time, a century appeared to dwindle to a point: the individual obstructions and accelerations which within that period had occurred to impede or advance the *march of events* (for this is part of the new phraseology) were eliminated and forgotten: the mind dwelt upon the necessity or fatality of the advance, and neglected what for practical purposes was all important, viz. the consideration of how much by human forethought this certain improvement might have been aided. The sarcastic reflections of Voltaire, though grounded on far inferior knowledge, less wide and philosophic views, were infinitely more useful as practical suggestions; for although he endeavoured to show that a mere trifle or accident may thwart the best-laid plans, still he inculcated the necessity of forethought, and by his minute criticism laid bare

* The effects of a cup of coffee spilled on Mrs. Masham's gown, as deduced by him and believed by Byron, is one case of this sort. The effects of Louis XIV. perceiving that a window built by Louvois was out of the perpendicular, is another.

many of the secret springs of human action. No supine indifference was created in consequence of an undoubting confidence in a certain result; the result, according to him, was *uncertain*, and might be influenced by forethought, though the wisest prediction was liable to falsification from the most insignificant causes. This is true, and is only incorrect when stated in order to contradict the existence of causes of powerful and continuous influence. The truth lies between the two extremes. Such powerful and ever active causes do exist, but they are liable to be constantly thwarted, though eventually they triumph.

This philosophy of history, as distinguished from the philosophy of man's individual nature,* has in the hands of the French historians begun to be a science; but they, in this case as in most others, are the slaves of words, are governed by *phrases*, and when pleased by the jingle of a sentence, fancy they have improved philosophy. They have pointed out an important truth, and have sometimes partially applied it; but they have enunciated the truth itself in such mystified expressions, have attached to it so many wild hypotheses, and have been so little careful to examine instead of declaiming, that much has not yet been done towards a scientific exposition of this portion of the science of human nature. In this censure it is not meant to be asserted that much historical knowledge has not been obtained by the historians of France. Their patience is extreme in searching after their evidence; their views are new and singularly happy as regards individual cases; but they have done little in drawing from thence general rules for future inquirers; in fact, they have done little for philosophy beyond accumulating evidence. What is now required is, that some one thoroughly persuaded of the truth, that the man, political or social, is not the same as the individual in his own separate capacity, should explain from the evidence which ages past exhibit, what relation exists between the same man in these two distinct situations. He should view men under these two aspects, and point out the connection between them—should show what political or social state is fit for what private or singular condition—should, in fact, give us the same sort of definite knowledge in this branch of science that we now possess respecting the mental nature of the individual man: we want (the terms may startle) a political metaphysician.

This then is the *école fataliste* at present existing in France, against which, in the abstract, M. de Chateaubriand has indulged in much angry declamation. They are men, who having viewed

* Metaphysics (that much decried but master science) is the term usually employed to denote this portion of the science of human nature; but metaphysics, in fact, includes both portions, both of man in his individual and in his social capacity.

the course of events, come to the conclusion, that individual character, consequently individual vice or virtue, have had little influence upon the political destinies of mankind; that there is a general, active, continuous, and paramount series of events which regularly succeed one to the other in the relation of cause and effect; that this series of events is necessary, and can be accurately traced out and followed; and that nothing can resist or make it deviate from its course. A tendency to adopt this opinion is distinctly visible in the writings of every French historian and philosopher of the present day. Some have carried it further than others, but all—and among the number is M. de Chateaubriand himself—have had their opinions modified, aye, greatly modified, by the theory as above expressed. The St. Simonists have carried the theory into their philosophy, and reared up a huge fabric upon this foundation: their historic doctrine takes this opinion for its base; and with the spirit of systematic verbal arrangement which besets all French writers, the various disciples of this new religion have manufactured a formidable programme of historic science. But in all this, though there is much error, there is nothing deserving of M. de Chateaubriand's indignation; there is no carelessness as regards vice and virtue; no robbing mankind of responsibility; no destruction of free-will, in any correct sense of the term. Yet such is the accusation. The doctrine of philosophic necessity is, under other words, again brought into dispute, and from the language used by M. de Chateaubriand, one party at least seems not to have been enlightened by the discussions of past times.

" Il y a mille erreurs détestables dans ce système.

" La fatalité, introduite dans les affaires humaines, n'auroit pas même l'avantage de transporter à l'histoire l'intérêt de la fatalité tragique. Qu'un personnage sur la scène soit victime de l'inexorable destin; que malgré ses vertus il périsse: quelque chose de terrible résulte de ce ressort mis en mouvement par le poëte. Mais que la société soit représentée comme une espèce de machine qui se meut aveuglément par des lois physiques latentes; qu'une révolution arrive, par cela seul qu'elle doive arriver; que sous les roues de son char, comme sous celles du char de l'idole Indienne, soient écrasés au hasard innocents et coupables; *que l'indifference ou la pitié soit la même à l'égard du vice et de la vertu,* (this is a most disingenuous interpretation,) cette fatalité de la chose, cette impartialité de l'homme, sont hébétées et non tragiques. Ce niveau historique, loin de décéler la vigueur, ne trahit que l'impuissance de celui qui promène sur les faits. J'ose dire que les deux historiens qui ont produit de si deplorables imitateurs etoient tres supérieurs à l'opinion dont on a cru trouver le germe dans leurs ouvrages."—*Preface,* pp. xcii. xciii.

The two writers here alluded to, are M. Mignet and M. Thiers.

The question here is, not whether this *fatalité* be *hébétée* or *tragique*, but whether past history justifies the supposed statement; and whether, supposing the statement true, it be philosophic conduct to act upon it? Whether the facts (allowing the statement correct) conduce to the view of virtue and vice supposed by M. de Chateaubriand, is also, certainly, an important and legitimate matter of inquiry. But, assuredly, if the truth be to be told, neither M. Mignet nor M. Thiers is blamable for discovering and promulgating it. In the supposed theory, however, there is much of truth, combined with enormous error; but the theory, whether true or false, does not conduce to indifference respecting moral conduct.*

Feeling that the difference between the social and individual man, above pointed out, existed, but not clearly perceiving what the difference really imported, the whole of the present writers in France have adopted the notion, that mankind, through all ages, ought to be considered as one entity, of which any given man, any nation, or the whole human race, at any one period, is but a fraction. They speak of mankind going through certain necessary steps or stages in the progress of improvement: these steps they deem a regular series, which can be predicted, but which cannot be escaped. The St. Simonian sect in France has most distinctly announced, and steadily pursued the doctrine, and by carrying it out to its necessary and legitimate consequences, has most clearly brought to light the glaring absurdity which it involves. It is remarkable, that M. de Chateaubriand should admire the doctrine in the hands of the German historians, but should be scandalized by its adoption in France, and blind to the identity of the opinions held by the one nation and the other.

"Decouvrir les lois qui regissent l'éspèce humaine; prendre pour base d'opérations les trois ou quatre grandes traditions répandues chez tous les peuples de la terre; reconstruire la société sur ces traditions de la même manière qu'on restaure un monument d'après ses ruines; suivre le développement des idées et des institutions chez cette société; signaler ses transformations; *s'enquerir de l'histoire s'il n'existe pas dans l'humanité quelque mouvement naturel, lequel se manifestant à des époques fixes* dans des positions données, peut faire predire le retour de telle ou telle revo-

* It is a curious circumstance that the long agitated question of philosophic necessity should be at the bottom of this dispute, and that the inquiry can not properly be conducted without first determining that abstruse metaphysical problem. This is no place for such a discussion; it may, however, be observed, 1st, That the doctrine of necessity, as contemplated by the most enlightened philosophers of the present day—as contemplated by the theory of the French historians—does not suppose that the *will* cannot be influenced through means of human forethought: 2dly, That among the most powerful of these means, according to them, are *praise* and *blame:* 3dly, Consequently that *indifference* respecting conduct would, by the partizans of *necessity*, be deemed in the highest degree unphilosophic.

lution, comme on annonce la reapparition des comètes dont les courbes ont été calculées: ce sont là d'immenses interêts. * * * * Trouve t-on à chaque origine nationale un âge religieux? de cet âge passe t-on à un âge héroïque? de cet âge héroique à un âge social? de cet âge social à un âge proprement dit humain? de cet âge humain à un âge philosophique? y-a-t-il un Homère qui chante en tous pays dans differentes langues au berceau de tous les peuples? L'Allemagne se divise sur ces questions en deux partis: le parti philosophique-historique, et le parti historique."—*Preface*, p. xlix.

Herder, as translated by M. Quinet, thus expresses himself, and M. de Chateaubriand speaks of his opinion as one of a set of *nobles systemes:*

"Quand il a été établi que les vicissitudes de l'histoire ne naissent pas d'un vain caprice des volontés, mais qu'elles ont leur fondements dans les entrailles même de l'univers, qu'elles en sont le resultat le plus élevé, et que c'etoit une condition du monde que nous voyons *de faire naître à telle epoque telle forme de civilisation, tel mouvement de progression;* que ces divers phénomènes entrent en rapport avec le domaine entier de la nature, et participent de son caractère, ainsi que toute autre éspèce de production terrestre; les actions humaines se presentent alors comme un nouveau règne, qui a ses harmonies, ses contrastes et sa sphère déterminés."—*Preface*, p. liv.

These statements are precisely the same, though not so definitely expressed as the following passage from the "Doctrine de St. Simon."

"L'Humanité, a-t-il (St. Simon) dit, est un être *collectif* qui se développe; cet être a grandi de génération en génération, comme un seul homme grandit dans la succession des âges. Cet être a grandi en obeissant à une loi qui est sa loi physiologique, et cet loi a été celle d'un développement progressif."—p. 107.

That mankind has gone through certain gradations is true, and to a certain extent the gradations in various nations have been similar; but it is not true that the change has always been an improvement, neither is it true that any certain law of progression can be deduced from the experience of past ages. Into what law, we ask, is Greece to be thrust? How can its rapid and brilliant course be assimilated to the long and painful travail of Rome and Modern Europe? How can the stationary state of India, and the other nations of Asia, be reconciled with any rule which is applicable to Europe? By what means can we frame a law of progression that shall be true of the islands of the Grecian and Indian Archipelago? The truth is, that the besetting sin of French philosophy is a mania for systems. They love to make a great plan, to use dogmatic and sweeping expressions, to deal in epigrammatic declamation unencumbered with exceptions. As has been eloquently said, on a somewhat similar occasion,

"Truths in general have been called stubborn things; the truths just mentioned are so in their own way. They are not to be forced into detached and general propositions, unencumbered with explanations and exceptions. They will not compress themselves into epigrams. They recoil from the tongue and pen of the declaimer. They flourish not in the same soil with sentiment. They grow among thorns, and are not to be plucked like daisies by infants as they run. Labour, the inevitable lot of humanity, is in no track more inevitable than here. In vain would an Alexander bespeak a peculiar road for royal vanity, or a Ptolemy a smoother one for royal indolence. There is no King's Road, no Stadtholder's Gate, to *historic,* any more than to mathematic science."*

The various apparent anomalies of history baffle the declaimer —long, patient, and candid investigation is requisite before we can explain the curious differences which are seen in the fortunes of mankind—great previous knowledge must be brought to the inquiry—knowledge of the human mind, at once accurate and extensive—as well as a power of strict analysis, and correct generalization. The sort of difficulties besetting the task will be at once manifest to any one who will take any particular nation as an example, and endeavour to trace out the causes which have determined its *peculiar* fortunes. Take, as an illustration, the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and the islands and main-land of Greece: endeavour to discover the causes of improvement which existed in the latter states, and not in the former; and it will be found, before the investigation is finished, that the inquirer has gone through most of the intricate inquiries connected with the nature of the human mind. The influence of the government—of the accidental and common notions of the inhabitants on the subject of religion—their peculiar relative situation to surrounding states, the influence of their soil, climate, and geographical position—their accidental education—their social institutions, whether resulting from chance or their position—the influence of particular individuals—these things, and a hundred others of the same nature will have to be examined, before a definite conclusion can be obtained; and that conclusion must, of necessity, be conditional—conditional to an extent that precludes any *general* system as applicable at one time to all nations. The case will be analogous to that of the dice: a rule to calculate the chances may be accurately framed, but no one can determine what may be the result of a particular series of throws. In the case of historic inquiry the difficulty is still greater, because the determining circumstances are more numerous, with more difficulty discovered

* Bentham, *Morals and Legislation,* Preface.

and appreciated, and the number of possible events is not known. Moreover, the force of the determining circumstances varies at different times, and the influence of each varies in composition, so that there is no end to the probabilities of varying results The undeviating system of the fatalist school takes not these differences into account. If history do not agree with the system, the fault, they declare, lies in history, not in the system; and so far is carried this approbation of their own labours, that we have heard the philosophers, after the fashion of St. Simon, gravely declare, that the whole fortunes of the Grecian States were an anomaly.* The *parti philosophique-historique* of the Germans solves the difficulty after another mode, somewhat more complicated it is true, but not one whit more correct.

"La parti philosophique-historique, à la tête duquel se plaça M. Hegel, prétend que l'âme universelle se manifeste dans l'humanité par quatre modes; l'un substantiel, identique, immobile, on le trouve dans l'orient: l'autre individuel, varié, actif, on le voit dans la Grèce: le troisieme se composant des deux premiers dans une lutte perpetuelle, il étoit à Rome; le quatrieme sortant de la lutte du troisième pour harmonier ce que etoit divers; il existe dans les nations d'origine Germanique." —*Preface*, p. l.

This is exceedingly mysterious, and perhaps very profound—unfortunately it is nothing to the purpose. We are not to learn that man has been stationary in the east. We are desirous of having the phenomenon explained; we are anxious to learn *why* is he there stationary? The German philosopher answers "because the universal soul has there manifested itself in a mode substantial, identical, and immoveable," which if put into plain language signifies, if it signify any thing, that in the east man is stationary, because he is stationary. This is philosophy after the fashion of M. Hegel.†

Before we leave this theory of history, so prevalent in France, it will be necessary to mention one practical result deduced from it as a consequence. If the human race improve only by regular gradations, the institutions of mankind, which in fact are but results of the general feelings and opinions, should be improved

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* The new reading of the strolling player was in this spirit:

"'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius—*do without it.*"

As a Frenchman once said, "if the facts do not accord with my system, so much the worse for the facts."

† There is no intention of speaking critically of the German writers in this place, and thus cursorily. Neither would we be supposed to take M. de Chateaubriand's version of their doctrines as the right one. They and their opinions are mentioned here merely to illustrate the mode in which M. de Chateaubriand treats the same system in different hands.

in regular gradation also. Ultimate perfection in an institution is not, say these reasoners, the immediate object to be obtained, but an accordance between the precise state of the public feeling and the institution. They assert that men are not to be forced over any stage in the progress of improvement—that none of the stages are to be avoided, and consequently to frame institutions upon a model which has no reference to those stages is preposterous and absurd. They state for example, that the Roman despotism was necessary to unite men (meaning by men always their own small portion of the human race) into one family;—that the Christian religion was necessary for the same end. That the next step, though apparently retrograde, viz. the irruption of the barbarians, was in fact a step in advance to that state of perfection to which we are tending. Why this was so, however, they have some difficulty in explaining. The feudal ages which succeeded were yet another pace in advance—a step which could alone have brought mankind out of that darkness into which their happiness required they should be plunged. Now they say, if at any one of these periods a perfect government, or any perfect institution, had been framed and established, the thing would have been out of the regular order of nature, and utterly impracticable. If instead of Cæsar there had been a Washington, endowed with knowledge and virtue, no good would have resulted. If instead of the establishment of the Prætorian guards, there had been a national militia; if instead of a despotic ruler, and a decrepit senate, there had been a system of representation; if instead of the gross injustice of the municipal law* under the Roman Empire, there had been a wisely constructed municipal federation, they assert no benefit would have been the consequence. Again, when the old civilization was destroyed, and wild confusion reigned throughout Europe, they assert that if, instead of feudal tyranny, a general system of small states had been framed, and popular governments introduced; if in place of grovelling superstition, enlightened morality had been preached by the priesthood; if instead of a Gregory there had been a Franklin; and if, as a more striking case than any yet mentioned, the Roman people by wise institutions had been able to resist the invading barbarians, if all or any of these things had taken place, the fortunes of mankind, they boldly assert, would not have been happier. This, we must say, appears to us a glaring absurdity, arising from the truth, which, strange to say, lurks at the bottom of the

* Until lately the effects of the municipal laws of Rome were not understood—Their evil influence has been distinctly traced by M. Guizot in his *Essais sur l'histoire de France*, and by M. Raynouard in his *Histoire du droit Municipal en France*, of which an account was given in our last number.

theory. It is true that in certain degrees of civilization, men can only appreciate certain truths—but there is no need of men believing in error to lead them out of barbarism. The long travail supposed, is not necessary, as is proved by the Grecian republics; and it is because these republics disprove this strange theory, that they are unhesitatingly styled an anomaly. Neither does it follow that because barbarians can appreciate only imperfect institutions, people in a state of higher civilization cannot safely be trusted with a government of the most perfect description, The popular governments of Greece, faulty as they were, produced effects which are, and ever will be the world's wonder. The Italian republics, the Hanse Towns, two thousand years after, were followed by like results, while feudal despotism worked nothing but unmingled misery, misery that could only be alleviated by the destruction of feudality. We would ask M. Thierry, we would ask M. Guizot, if the *French communes*, in place of being destroyed, had succeeded in their splendid efforts to obtain and secure their freedom, the advance of Europe would not have been far more rapid than it has proved? Do they, does any one believe, that the subjugation of Italy by the despots around her, and the abolition of the privileges of the northern free towns, were beneficial to the civilization of Europe? But if they were not, how can we talk of continual advance, and this wonder-working fatality of progressive improvement?

Passing from the classification of the French historical writers, according to their philosophy, we have now to speak of that other division which is founded on the *manner* of their narration. There is now, it appears, one class of historians to whom is peculiarly affixed the title of *école descriptive*—another that of *école philosophique*. The first by the manner of their narrative endeavour to bring the scenes of the past vividly before the mind of the reader; they paint rather than relate; by an apt selection of incidents they make the narrative illustrate the manners and feelings of the time, and artfully render the reader a beholder rather than a listener, make him actually participant of the actions related, not merely a listener to the recital. When they have done this, they deem the purposes of history accomplished. The reader who is desirous of understanding thoroughly the theory of this class of writers may consult M. Thierry's admirable "Lettres sur l'histoire de France," as well as his "Histoire de la conquête d'Angleterre." M. de Chateaubriand thus shortly describes it.

"L'école moderne se divise en deux systèmes principaux: dans le premier, l'histoire doit être ecrité sans reflexions; elle doit consister dans le simple narré des evenements, et dans la peinture des mœurs: elle doit présenter un tableau naif, varié, rempli d'épisodes, laissant

chaque lecteur, selon la nature de son esprit, libre de tirer les conséquences des principes, et de degager les vérités générales des vérités particulières. C'est ce qu'on appelle l'histoire descriptive, par opposition à l'histoire philosophique du dernier siècle."—*Preface,* p. xliv.

The head of this school, according to the French historians, is Walter Scott. The most remarkable professed historians of the class are M. de Barante, and M. Thierry. The latter of these may claim the second place among the historians of France—to M. Guizot the first is due; he, with M. Dulaure, and M. de Sismondi, may be considered the heads of the philosophic school, though they seem to have improved upon the styles of their predecessors. The philosophic school, strictly speaking, consider the vivid narrative of the descriptive school unnecessary, not to say dangerous. They relate events, not so much for the purpose of making an animated description, as in order to arrive at, and illustrate conclusions which may serve as guides for the future governance of mankind. They indulge in disquisitions, they philosophize, in other words, as well as narrate. History in their hands is not so much an amusement as a lesson. In our own language we have striking specimens of this class of history; the two most remarkable are "The Decline and Fall" of Gibbon, and the "History of British India" by Mr. Mill. The latter is in fact a very type of the school. The narrative is made a secondary consideration, and as a narrative is inefficiently written. But no literature in the world possesses so admirably instructive, so philosophic a history.

A complete and perfect history, as regards its manner, would be one which should unite these two styles, one which possessed all the power and beauty of the descriptive school in its narrative, all the wisdom and instruction of the philosophic school in its reflections. There is no need of the two being separated, but on the contrary there is every reason why they should be united. If united, philosophy would be rendered more attractive, and the fidelity of the impression made by the narrative insured. Separate the two, and these great benefits are greatly diminished.

There is a danger attendant on the manner of the descriptive school, which the writers seem to have overlooked—that is, of an incorrect conception being framed of the period described, as well by the historians as by the reader. Before we can convey a correct conception by narrative to others, we must have a correct conception ourselves. Having acquired this, we must then be able to select from the mass of events just those which are, or can be made, the picture of the time. Before we can do this, however, we must thoroughly study institutions and manners, we must go through much elaborate reasoning, must apply much previously

acquired knowledge, and when this has been done we may, but not till then can we, safely take upon ourselves the character of the *novelist* historian. But this reasoning, and this application of other knowledge to the investigation of history are highly instructive, and since by the historian they cannot be dispensed with, they may easily be laid before the reader. This will prevent doubt, create confidence in the historian, and save an infinity of labour to the really conscientious student. We are to suppose that the historian has carefully studied the epoch he is describing; that he has traced out with accuracy the effects of the existing institutions and existing manners, that he has learned by deep research the reciprocal influences of both; and we know that even if he have done this, his conclusions must still rest upon hypothetical links, which his knowledge has enabled him to insert in the reasonings upon which his conclusions are founded. If he exhibit the process, we can easily follow it; if he withhold from us all but the results of the conclusions, we must perform for ourselves what he has kept hidden. If he lay these before us, he becomes a philosophic historian.

This happy medium M. de Chateaubriand fancies himself to have attained: from that opinion, unfortunately, we feel compelled to dissent. The style of the descriptive school is peculiarly simple, naïf, and manly: there is no straining after effect; no use of meretricious ornament, no consideration of the writer shining through his statements: there is an exquisite straightforwardness and honesty about their manner, an absence of every thing like theatrical flourishes, and *French* contrasts. M. de Chateaubriand's style is the reverse of all this. There is no masculine vigour, no simplicity about it—it is strained, pompous and affected. The style affects his reasoning, and his love of striking opposition makes him careless of historic truth. In the same way, Chateaubriand fancies that his philosophy is a compound of all that is useful in that of his cotemporaries, unmixed with any of the errors peculiar to their systems. Here again, alas! we are obliged to withhold our assent. The philosophy of M. de Chateaubriand, if philosophy it must be called, is a thing that defies criticism, since it escapes comprehension. It is not like the opinions of his cotemporaries, since they are intelligible. His work, indeed, has added nothing to our knowledge, and little we conceive to his own reputation.

The work as it now stands is a fragment—a fragment of a history of Europe from Christ to Louis XVI. The author, fearing that his labours would never be perused, has traced out his plan without doing more than fill in certain parts. What he has done, what he intended to do, he has explained at great length in his

preface, the early part of which is employed in discussions on the existing state of historical knowledge in France, Germany, and England, and is by far the most entertaining portion of the work. We shall endeavour, as far as our limits permit, to convey to the reader some idea of this voluminous fragment.

" Dans l'Introduction j'expose mon système, je définis les trois verités qui sont le fondement de l'ordre social, la verité religieuse, la verité philosophique, ou l'independance du l'esprit de l'homme, la verité politique ou la liberté. Je dis que tous les faits historiques naissent du choc, de la division, ou de l'alliance de ces trois verités."—*Preface,* p. c. xi.

In the name of all that is wonderful, what is the meaning of this assertion? How can these truths tilt one against another and produce a fact? A fact in the widest sense of the term is an event, and a truth is the assertion contained in a true proposition; truth relating always merely to propositions. But this is certainly not what is intended by M. de Chateaubriand. He says in his exposition:

" Trois verités forment la base de l'edifice social : la vérité religieuse, la vérité philosophique, la vérité politique.

" La vérité religieuse est la connoissance d'un Dieu unique, manifestée par un culte.

" La vérité philosophique est la triple science des choses intellectuelles, morales, et naturelles."

These two definitions consider truth as a peculiar kind of knowledge, but the next views it as something extremely different.

" La vérité politique est l'ordre et la liberté : l'ordre est la souveraineté exercée par le pouvoir : la liberté est le droit des peuples."

Truth is now no longer knowledge, but order, and order is sovereignty exercised by power.* So then truth is sovereignty; but truth besides is liberty, which is the right of the people. What is really intended by this *galimatias* is beyond our power to determine.

M. de Chateaubriand's philosophy being a thing which we by no means profess to understand, it is necessary in justice to him to lay before the reader such portions of his work as propose to

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* It might be significantly asked if sovereignty is ever exercised without power, if sovereignty does not in fact mean power? If not, what does it mean? Hobbes (who is worth a hundred *phraseurs*) says, " and in him consisteth the essence of the commonwealth, which (to define it) is one person of whose acts a great multitude by mutual covenants one with another have made themselves every one the author, to the end that he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient for the peace and common defence. And he that carryeth this person is called *soveraigne,* and said to have *soveraigne power ;* and every one else his *subject.*" Leviathan, p. 2, c. 17. Sovereign power and sovereignty we take to be the same thing, if so, according to M. de Chateaubriand's definition, power exercises power. This too is philosophy!

convey his meaning. We will, therefore, endeavour to use, as nearly as may be, the language of the author himself.

M. de Chateaubriand asserts, that there is a distinct and wonderful order of events combined to one stated end, from the time of Christ to the death of Louis XVI. The end is to unite the *trois vérités* above mentioned; and the professed object of M. de Chateaubriand's history is to trace out the way in which that end was accomplished. The author's style, at least, will be exemplified by the extracts about to be made.

"Le monde moderne prend naissance au pied de la croix. Les nations modernes sont composées des trois peuples—Païen, Chrétien, Barbare."—*Preface*, p. cxi.

M. de Chateaubriand's inability to understand a classification is curious. Classifying people according to their religion is one mode, by their civilization another. A people may be, and have been Barbarian, and yet Christian—Pagan and yet Barbarian. The Barbarians who overturned the Roman Empire were composed of both Christians and Pagans. Again, it may be asked, how the Pagans and Christians can be called distinct people. Some Romans were Pagans, all Romans had been Pagans, they were converted to Christianity, but did not become a different people. What faith can be put in conclusions based on such expressions?

"Ce monde étoit trop corrompu, trop rempli de vices, de cruautés, d'injustices, trop enchanté de ses faux dieux et de ses spectacles, pour qu'il pût être entièrement régénéré par le Christianisme. Une religion nouvelle avoit besoin de peuples nouveaux, il fallait à l'innocence de l'Evangile des hommes sauvages, à une foi simple des cœurs simples comme cette foi."

Rousseau put faith in the current declamations respecting the virtues of the savage state. He reared up a practical system founded on the supposed truth of those declamations. When so doing, he evinced unrivalled power, and exquisite acumen. He tacked to his doctrines no wild and inexplicable notions; all was definite, accurate and simple. To this day his *Emile* is our chief guide in education. But his efforts were met with one wild universal shout of reprobation; he was hooted from society; and no small wit could be found who had not launched a shaft against the *savage* theory of the citizen of Geneva. Here, however, is M. de Chateaubriand again bringing forward the same error, declaiming after the fashion of the old declaimers, and contributing, in as far as his authority will permit, to mislead future readers, as his predecessors misled Jean Jacques. In M. de Chateaubriand this is the more unpardonable, as no one would be more ready

to reprobate Rousseau than he. No one lays greater claim to the reputation of a patient investigator:—and since the very subject of his investigations is the barbarous hordes who overturned the empire of Rome, we put the following questions to M. de Chateaubriand, and ask him or any one to reconcile the correct answers to those questions with his theory. Comparing the religious opinions of the philosophers of Greece and Rome (taking for their exposition, at the period of Christ's coming, the works of Cicero) with the most enlightened doctrines of the Barbarians, which, we ask, was most accordant with the innocence and wisdom of the Gospel? The Barbarians at the time of their conversion to Christianity were Pagans, either purely after their own fashion, or after that of the Romans. If after the fashion of the Romans, they were no better fitted to receive the Gospel than that people. If after their own, we ask M. de Chateaubriand to compare the descriptions of the Greeks and Germans by Cæsar and Tacitus; to compare the manners of the Huns, the followers of Attila; of the Vandals, the followers of Genseric; of the Goths, the followers of Alaric; compare these with the Roman and Athenian people under Augustus, and which nation, we again ask, was in its manners most accordant with the innocence and wisdom of the Gospel? The Barbarians were brutal, lustful, sanguinary, living by war and rapine, delighting in bloodshed and devastation. They were ignorant, and utterly incapable of understanding the doctrines of a refined morality. We judge modern Europe by its writers, by the *élite* of its people—let us judge Rome and Athens by the same test. Compare the Roman law, its admirable system of jurisprudence evincing a state of cultivation not now surpassed; compare the acute disquisitions, the high-toned morality, the profound researches of the Grecian philosophers with any thing which the Barbarians can offer. How different is the brutal picture of the one people, from the high civilization of the other! and yet does M. de Chateaubriand talk about the innocence and simple virtues of this brutal and barbaric race! But has he forgotten that Christianity had spread throughout the Roman world before the Barbarians were converted? That the Pagan religion was extinct before the destruction of the Roman Empire? That the Barbarians received their faith from the hands of the Romans! that they altered not the dogmas of that faith; that their lives formed a still worse exemplification of the Gospel, than those of the Romans themselves? That they were as crapulous, as avaricious, as slothful as the Romans; that they were more savage, brutal, cruel and sanguinary than their unfortunate enemies? How then, we again demand, can

these facts be made to agree with the system of M. de Chateaubriand?

This questioning must not be deemed a hunting of an author to his common-places. On the opinions above expressed, M. de Chateaubriand has built up a huge theory, which is intended to lead to serious practical results. We shall now continue our exposition.

"Louis XVI. commença l'application des théories inventées sous le règne de son aïeul par les économistes et les encyclopédistes. Ce prince, honnête homme, rétablit les parlements, supprima les corvées, ameliora le sort des Protestants. Enfin le secours qu'il prêta à la revolution d'Amerique (secours injuste selon le droit privé des nations, mais utile à l'espèce humaine en général) acheva de developper en France les germes de la liberté. La monarchie parlementaire, réveillée à la fin de la monarchie absolue rappelle la monarchie constitutionelle: le roi martyr quitte le monde. C'est entre les fonts baptismaux de Clovis et l'échafaud de Louis XVI. qu'il faut placer le grand empire chrétien des François. La même religion étoit debout aux deux barrières qui marquent les deux extrémités de cette longue arène. 'Doux Sicambre, incline le col, adore ce que tu as brûlé, brûles ce que tu as adoré' dit le prêtre qui administroit à Clovis le baptême d'eau. 'Fils de Saint Louis montez au ciel' dit le prêtre qui assistoit Louis XVI. au baptême de sang."

This is one of those theatric flourishes which offend every correct and masculine taste, and of which we have above complained. It bears about the same relation to good writing, that the melodramatic exaggerations of the Coburg do to good acting. The continuation of the passage is, if possible, in still worse taste.

"Alors le vieux monde fut submergé. Quand les flots d'anarchie se retirèrent, Napoléon parut à l'entrée d'un nouvel univers, comme ces géants que l'histoire profane et sacrée nous peint au berceau de la société, et qui se montrèrent à la terre après le deluge.

"Ainsi j'amène du pied de la croix au pied de l'échafaud de Louis XVI. ces trois vérités qui sont au fond de l'ordre social; la vérité religieuse, la vérité philosophique, ou l'indépendance de l'esprit de l'homme, et la vérité politique, ou la liberté. Je cherche à demontrer que l'espèce humaine suit une ligne progressive dans la civilisation, alors même qu'elle semble rétrograder."—p. cli.

This last quotation shows the identity of opinion in the case of M. de Chateaubriand and his contemporaries. The following passage confirms this assertion.

"Le siècle de Louis XIV. fut le superbe catafalque de nos libertés, eclairé par mille flambeaux de la gloire qu'élevoit à l'entour un cortege de grands hommes.

"Louis XIV., comme Napoléon, chacun avec la difference de son temps et de leur génie, substituérent l'ordre à la liberté.

"La monarchie absolue de Louis XIV. étoit une nécessité, un fait amené par les faits précédents; elle étoit inévitable."—*Preface*, p. cxlv.

"Le despotisme de Louis XIV. fut un fait progressif naturel, venu à point dans son temps, dans son lieu, un resultat inévitable des opinions et des mœurs à cette époque, un anneau de la chaine qui servoit à joindre le principe repudié de la liberté au principe non encore adopté de l'égalité."—vol. iv. p. 434.

This is the theory of the fatalist school, pure and without modification. In the same way that M. de Chateaubriand justifies the despotism of Louis XIV. they justify the horrors of the revolution; they deem them inevitable evils; a necessary link of a chain, &c., after the very words of the above-quoted passage. But employed to this end the theory undergoes M. de Chateaubriand's grave reprehension; employed to make the world properly understand the persecution of the Protestants by Louis XIV., he deems it just and laudable. It is a curious circumstance, that in his eyes the friends of persecution, superstition, and despotism, are ever in the right.

Applying this same theory to the explication of phenomena connected with the rise of Christianity, he says

"De toutes parts on démolit les temples; perte à jamais deplorable pour les arts; mais le monument matériél succomba, comme toujours, sous la force intellectuelle de l'idée entrée dans la conviction du genre humain."—vol. ii. p. 207.

He forgets this theory, however, when there is an opportunity of decrying Condorcet. At the abolition of privileges, Condorcet, in order to insure their destruction, proposed that the charters which conferred them should be destroyed also. This was no unwise precaution, and though some historic documents were lost thereby, still, as in the case of the heathen temples, "le monument materiél succomba, comme toujours, sous la force intellectuelle de l'idée entrée dans la conviction du genre humain." The loss of these historic documents was of little or no moment to *general* history, since the evidence which they contained of the general facts was elsewhere preserved; but it served to cut up by the roots each particular claim, and in so far was a benefit without attendant mischief. The destruction of the Pagan temples was the effect of blind and furious bigotry aided by priestly avarice.* It did not contribute to the establishment of Chris-

* Sed postquam rerum facies mutata est, et aboleri cœpit stolidæ paganitatis error, jura etiam et privilegia sublata sunt. D. Ambrosius, lib. 2. "Et certe ante plurimos annos templorum jura toto orbe sublata sunt." Namque, ut verissime dixit Papinius,

tianity, for Christianity was already established. The preservation of the Pantheon has, we conceive, not retarded the advance of the Christian faith. In truth, the destruction of these beautiful specimens of art was pure unmingled mischief. The destruction of the old parchments proposed by Condorcet was, on the contrary, good without any mixture of evil. But supposing the act ever so injudicious (instead of being, as it was, the wise result of much forethought,) it did not deserve the brutal joke which the mild humanity of Christian virtue, shining through the professions of M. de Chateaubriand, has permitted him to indulge in.

" Condorcet," he says, " malgré tous ses soins, ne se tint pas si fort assuré de l'egalité, qu'il ne s'en précautionnât d'une bonne dose dans le poison qu'il portoit habituellement sur lui."

When, amidst hostility, and the wild turbulence of political strife, there is found a right-minded and hearty admission of worth in one opponent by another, there arises in every candid mind a springing exultation of honest pride in the worthiness of the race to which we belong. We feel ourselves exalted by the liberal spirit of our fellow-man, and learn to think better of the whole species from the noble specimen of liberality which the individual evinces. But if such be our feelings of pride at the good feelings of our fellows, humiliation follows but too acutely when bigot hatred vents its spite against its opponent, no matter how noble, how excellent; that bigot hatred, which can see no virtue if it belong not to a fellow partizan, which in its wild and indiscriminate rage is not only unable to appreciate worth in others, but also, towards an enemy, forgets the very decencies and humanities of life. If the one exhibition is to us an honour, the other but too certainly is a bitter degradation.

For the further understanding of M. de Chateaubriand's system, we must refer the reader to the work itself; and now conclude with one observation as to the merits of the work, considered as an original history. From what has been already stated, it must be evident to every one, that it is composed in a spirit in direct opposition to the history of Gibbon; but it would hardly

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Præp. lib. 5, Sylv., " Qui bonâ fide deos colit, amat et sacerdotes. Itaque deorum aris aversis, consentaneum fuit aboleri privilegia ministris eorum concessa, et augescente Christianitate sacerdotibus et ministris Dei indulgeri."—Car. H. Fabrotus, ad Tit. Cod. Theod. de Pag. in the collection of Otto, vol. iii. p. 1127. M. de Chateaubriand distinctly admits the assertion of the text; see vol. ii. p. 219. He there acknowledges and justifies the persecution *by* the Christians, and uses an expression, which, if applied to the French revolution, he would have covered with reprobation: " Mais quoi qu'il en soit, Dieu qui punit l'injustice particulière de l'individu, n'en laisse pas moins s'accomplir les révolutions générales, calculées sur les besoins de l'espèce."

be believed that the history of M. de Chateaubriand is throughout a marked plagiarism of Gibbon's narration. Having followed the two works, page by page, we make this assertion without fear of contradiction. M. de Chateaubriand seems himself aware of the circumstance, since he mentions Gibbon only some two or three times, and always with dispraise. The distinguishing excellencies of Gibbon are, first, his almost unrivalled erudition; and second, his incomparable power of collecting and arranging events. He knew better than any other historian how to make a complicated series clear and intelligible; when to narrow, when to expand the stream of his narration, what to dwell on, what to discard. His track has been followed step by step; and not only his track has been followed, but the very events which he has selected, the striking expressions he has collected, have all been taken by M. de Chateaubriand. If two men were to determine to go over and describe a particular portion of history, though they might read the same books, and would investigate the same body of evidence, yet, if there were no privity between them, the events which they would select to picture forth the same time would not be identical; neither would the passages chosen from the various authors they read be the same. Let any one not aware of this circumstance compare any two really original historians of the same period. For example, compare such portions of Gibbon's history as relate to the Italian republics with the history of M. de Sismondi. He will see, moreover, that M. de Sismondi is never fearful of acknowledging his debt to Gibbon, when he owes it; he quotes him as he would any other authority. Not so, however, with M. de Chateaubriand, he preserves a dead silence respecting him; and it is only by chance that we learn from him that such a writer as Gibbon ever existed, ever collected the authorities which M. de Chateaubriand so freely uses. If any one be desirous of seeing how a narrative may be stolen and yet spoiled, let him read Gibbon's description of the invasion of Greece by Alaric, c. xxx, and then peruse M. de Chateaubriand's translated copy of that description, vol. ii. commencing p. 268. The effect of this process will be much more vivid than any statement of ours.

ART. IV.— *Reinecke der Fuchs übersetzt*, von D. W. Soltau. (Reynard the Fox, translated by D. W. Soltau.) 2d edition. 8vo. Lüneburg: 1830.

IT is not with Herr Soltau's work, and its merits or demerits, that we here purpose to concern ourselves. The old Low-German Apologue was already familiar under many shapes; in versions into Latin, English, and all modern tongues: if it now comes before our German friends under a new shape, and they can read it not only in Gottsched's prosaic Prose, and Goethe's poetic Hexameters, but also "in the metre of the original," namely, in Doggrel; and this, as would appear, not without comfort, for it is "the second edition";—doubtless the Germans themselves will look to it, will direct Herr Soltau aright in his praiseworthy labours, and, with all suitable speed, forward him from his second edition into a third. To us strangers the fact is chiefly interesting as another little memento of the indestructible vitality there is in worth, however rude; and to stranger Reviewers, as it brings that wondrous old Fiction, with so much else that holds of it, once more specifically into view.

The Apologue of *Reynard the Fox* ranks undoubtedly among the most remarkable Books, not only as a German, but, in all senses, as a European one; and yet for us perhaps its extrinsic, historical character, is even more noteworthy than its intrinsic. In Literary History it forms, so to speak, the culminating point, or highest manifestation of a Tendency which had ruled the two prior centuries: ever downwards from the last of the Hohenstauffen Emperors, and the end of their Swabian Era, to the borders of the Reformation, rudiments and fibres of this singular Fable are seen, among innumerable kindred things, fashioning themselves together; and now, after three other centuries of actual existence, it still stands visible and entire, venerable in itself, and the enduring memorial of much that has proved more perishable. Thus, naturally enough, it figures as the representative of a whole group that historically cluster round it; in studying its significance, we study that of a whole intellectual period.

As this section of German Literature closely connects itself with the corresponding section of European Literature, and indeed offers an expressive, characteristic epitome thereof, some insight into it, were such easily procurable, might not be without profit. No Literary Historian that we know of, least of all any in England, having looked much in this direction, either as concerned Germany or other countries, whereby a long space of time, once busy enough, and full of life, now lies barren and void in men's memories,—we shall here endeavour to present, in such clearness as

first attempts may admit, the result of some slight researches of our own in regard to it.

The *Troubadour Period* in general Literature, to which the *Swabian Era* in German answers, has, especially within the last generation, attracted inquiry enough; the French have their Raynouards, we our Webers, the Germans their Haŭgs, Gräters, Langs, and numerous other Collectors and Translators of *Minnelieder;* among whom Ludwig Tieck, the foremost in far other provinces, has not disdained to take the lead. We shall suppose that this Literary Period is partially known to all readers. Let each recal whatever he has learned or figured regarding it; represent to himself that brave, young heyday of Chivalry and Minstrelsy, when a stern Barbarossa, a stern Lion-heart, sang *sirventes*, and with the hand that could wield the sword and sceptre twanged the melodious strings; when knights-errant tilted, and ladies' eyes rained bright influences; and suddenly, as at some sunrise, the whole Earth had grown vocal and musical. Then truly was the time of singing come; for princes and prelates, emperors and squires, the wise and the simple, men, women, and children, all sang and rhymed, or delighted in hearing it done. It was a universal noise of Song; as if the Spring of Manhood had arrived, and warblings from every spray, not indeed without infinite twitterings also, which, except their gladness, had no music, were bidding it welcome. This was the *Swabian Era;* justly reckoned not only superior to all preceding eras, but properly the First Era of German Literature. Poetry had at length found a home in the life of men; and every pure soul was inspired by it; and in words, or still better, in actions, strove to give it utterance.

"Believers," says Tieck, "sang of Faith; Lovers of Love; Knights described knightly actions and battles; and loving, believing knights were their chief audience. The Spring, Beauty, Gaiety, were objects that could never tire; great duels and deeds of arms carried away every hearer, the more surely the stronger they were painted; and as the pillars and dome of the Church encircled the flock, so did Religion, as the Highest, encircle Poetry and Reality; and every heart, in equal love, humbled itself before her."*

Let the reader, we say, fancy all this, and moreover that, as earthly things do, it is all passing away. And now, from this extreme verge of the *Swabian Era*, let us look forward into the inane of the next two centuries, and see whether there also some shadows and dim forms, significant in their kind, may not begin to grow visible. Already, as above indicated, *Reinecke de Fos* rises clear in the distance, as the goal of our survey: let us now,

* *Minnelieder aus dem Schwäbischen Zeitalter.* (*Vorrede*, x.)

restricting ourselves to the German aspects of the matter, examine what may lie between.

Conrad the Fourth, who died in 1254, was the last of the Swabian Emperors; and Conradin his son, grasping too early at a Southern Crown, perished on the scaffold at Naples in 1268; with which stripling, more fortunate in song than in war, and whose death, or murder, with fourteen years of other cruelty, the *Sicilian vespers* so frightfully avenged, the imperial line of the Hohenstauffen came to an end. Their House, as we have seen, gives name to a Literary Era; and truly, if dates alone were regarded, we might reckon it much more than a name. For with this change of dynasty, a great change in German Literature begins to indicate itself; the fall of the Hohenstauffen is close followed by the decay of Poetry; as if that fair flowerage and umbrage, which blossomed far and wide round the Swabian Family, had in very deed depended on it for growth and life; and now, the stem being felled, the leaves also were languishing, and soon to wither and drop away. Conradin, as his father and his grandfather had been, was a singer; some lines of his, though he died in his sixteenth year, have even come down to us; but henceforth no crowned poet, except, long afterwards, some few with cheap laurel crowns, is to be met with: the Gay Science was visibly declining. In such times as now came, the court and the great could no longer patronise it; the polity of the Empire was, by one convulsion after another, all but utterly dismembered; ambitious nobles, a sovereign without power; contention, violence, distress, everywhere prevailing. Richard of Cornwall, who could not so much as keep hold of his sceptre, not to speak of swaying it wisely; or even the brave Rudolf of Hapsburg, who manfully accomplished both these duties, had other work to do than sweet singing. Gay *Wars of the Wartburg* were now changed to stern *Battles of the Marchfield;* in his leisure hours a good Emperor, instead of twanging harps, must hammer from his helmet the dints it had got in his working and fighting hours.* Amid such rude tumults the Minne-Song could not but change its scene and tone; if, indeed, it continued at all, which, however, it scarcely did; for now, no longer united in courtly choir, it seemed to lose both its sweetness and its force, gradually became

* It was on this famous plain of the Marchfield that Ottocar, King of Bohemia, conquered Bela of Hungary, in 1260; and was himself, in 1278, conquered and slain by Rudolf of Hapsburg, at that time much left to his own resources; whose talent for mending helmets, however, is perhaps but a poetical tradition. Curious, moreover: it was here again, after more than five centuries, that the House of Hapsburgh received its worst overthrow, and from a new and greater Rudolf, namely, from Napoleon, at Wagram, which lies in the middle of this same Marchfield.

mute, or in remote obscure corners lived on, feeble and inaudible, till after several centuries, when under a new title, and with far inferior claims, it again solicits some notice from us.

Doubtless, in this posture of affairs political, the progress of Literature could be little forwarded from without; in some directions, as in that of Court-Poetry, we may admit that it was obstructed or altogether stopped. But why not only Court-Poetry, but Poetry of all sorts should have declined, and as it were gone out, is quite another question; to which, indeed, as men must have their theory on everything, answer has often been attempted, but only with partial success. To most of the German Literary Historians this so ungenial condition of the Court and Government appears enough: by the warlike, altogether practical character of Rudolf, by the imbecile ambition of his successors, by the general prevalence of feuds and lawless disorder, the death of Poetry seems fully accounted for. In which conclusion of theirs, allowing all force to the grounds it rests on, we cannot but perceive that there lurks some fallacy. The fallacy namely, so common in these times, of deducing the inward and spiritual exclusively from the outward and material; of tacitly, perhaps unconsciously, denying all independent force, or even life, to the former, and looking out for the secret of its vicissitudes solely in some circumstance belonging to the latter. Now it cannot be too often repeated, where it continues still unknown or forgotten, that man has a soul as certainly as he has a body; nay, much more certainly; that properly it is the course of his unseen, spiritual life, which informs and rules his external visible life, rather than receives rule from it; in which spiritual life, indeed, and not in any outward action or condition arising from it, the true secret of his history lies, and is to be sought after, and indefinitely approached. Poetry above all, we should have known long ago, is one of those mysterious things whose origin and developments never can be what we call explained; often it seems to us like the wind, blowing where it lists, coming and departing with little or no regard to any the most cunning theory that has yet been devised of it. Least of all does it seem to depend on court patronage, the form of government, or any modification of politics or economics, catholic as these influences have now become in our philosophy: it lives in a snow-clad, sulphureous Iceland, and not in a sunny, wine-growing France; flourishes under an arbitrary Elizabeth, and dies out under a constitutional George; Philip II. has his Cervantes, and in prison; Washington and Jackson have only their Coopers and Brownes. Why did poetry appear so brightly after the Battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis, and quite turn away her face and wings from those of Lexington and Bunker's

Hill? We answer, the Greeks were a poetical people, the Americans are not; that is to say, it appeared because it did appear! On the whole, we could desire that one of two things should happen: Either that our theories and genetic histories of Poetry should henceforth cease, and mankind rest satisfied, once for all, with Dr. Cabinis' theory, which seems to be the simplest, that "Poetry is a product of the smaller intestines," and must be cultivated medically by the exhibition of castor-oil: Or else that, in future speculations of this kind, we should endeavour to start with some recognition of the fact, once well known, and still in words admitted, that Poetry is Inspiration; has in it a certain spirituality and divinity which no dissecting-knife will discover; arises in the most secret and most sacred region of man's soul, as it were in our Holy of Holies; and as for external things, depends only on such as can operate in that region; among which it will be found that Acts of Parliament, and the state of the Smithfield markets, nowise play the chief part.

With regard to this change in German Literature, especially, it is to be remarked, that the phenomenon was not a German, but a European one; whereby we easily infer, so much at least, that the roots of it must have lain deeper than in any change from Hohenstauffen Emperors to Hapsburg ones. For now the Troubadours and Trouveres, as well as the Minnesingers, were sinking into silence; the world seemed to have rhymed itself out; those chivalrous roundelays, heroic tales, mythologies, and quaint love-sicknesses, had grown unprofitable to the ear. In fact, Chivalry itself was in the wane; and with it that gay melody, like its other pomp. More earnest business, not sportfully, but with harsh endeavour, was now to be done. The graceful minuet-dance of Fancy must give place to the toilsome, thorny pilgrimage of Understanding. Life and its appurtenances and possessions, which had been so admired and besung, now disclosed, the more they came to be investigated, the more contradictions. The Church no longer rose with its pillars "like a venerable dome over the united flock;" but, more accurately seen into, was a straight prison, full of unclean creeping things; against which thraldom all better spirits could not but murmur and struggle. Everywhere greatness and littleness seemed so inexplicably blended: Nature, like the Sphinx, her emblem, with her fair woman's face and neck, showed also the claws of a Lioness. Now too her Riddle had been propounded; and thousands of subtle, disputatious Schoolmen were striving earnestly to read it, that they might live, morally live, that the monster might not devour them. These, like strong swimmers, in boundless, bottomless vortices of Logic, swam manfully, but could not get to land.

On a better course, yet with the like aim, Physical Science was also unfolding itself. A Roger Bacon, an Albert the Great, are cheering appearances in this era: not blind to the greatness of Nature, yet no longer with poetic reverence of her, but venturing fearlessly into her recesses, and extorting from her many a secret; the first victories of that long series which is to make man more and more her King. Thus everywhere we have the image of contest, of effort. The spirit of man, which once, in peaceful, loving communion with the Universe, had uttered forth its gladness in Song, now feels hampered and hemmed in, and struggles vehemently to make itself room. Power is the one thing needful, and that Knowledge which is Power: thus also Intellect becomes the grand faculty, in which all the others are well nigh absorbed.

Poetry, which has been defined as "the harmonious unison of Man with Nature," could not flourish in this temper of the times. The number of poets, or rather versifiers, henceforth greatly diminishes; their style also, and topics, are different and less poetical. Men wish to be practically instructed rather than poetically amused: Poetry itself must assume a preceptorial character, and teach wholesome saws and moral maxims, or it will not be listened to. Singing for the Song's sake is now nowhere practised; but in its stead there is everywhere the jar and bustle of argument, investigation, contentious activity. Such throughout the fourteenth century is the general aspect of mind over Europe. In Italy alone is there a splendid exception: the mystic song of Dante, with its stern, indignant moral, is followed by the light love-rhymes of Petrarch, the Troubadour of Italy, when this class was extinct elsewhere: the master minds of that country, peculiar in its social and moral condition, still more in its relations to classical Antiquity, pursue a course of their own. But only the master minds; for Italy too has its Dialecticians, and projectors, and reformers; nay, after Petrarch, these take the lead; and there, as elsewhere, in their discords and loud assiduous toil, the voice of Poetry dies away.

To search out the causes of this great revolution, which lie not in Politics nor Statistics, would lead us far beyond our depth. Meanwhile let us remark that the change is nowise to be considered as a relapse, or fall from a higher state of spiritual culture to a lower; but rather, so far as we have objects to compare it with, as a quite natural progress and higher developement of culture. In the history of the universal mind, there is a certain analogy to that of the individual. Our first self-consciousness is the first revelation to us of a whole universe, wondrous and altogether good: it is a feeling of joy and new-found strength, of

mysterious infinite hope and capability; and in all men, either by word or act, expresses itself poetically. The world without us and within us, beshone by the young light of Love, and all instinct with a divinity, is beautiful and great: it seems for us a boundless happiness that we are privileged to live. This is the season of generous deeds and feelings; which also, on the lips of the gifted, form themselves into musical utterance, and give spoken poetry as well as acted. Nothing is calculated and measured, but all is loved, believed, appropriated. All action is spontaneous; high sentiment, a sure, imperishable good: and thus the youth stands, like the First Man, in his fair Garden, giving Names to the bright Appearances of this Universe which he has inherited, and rejoicing in it as glorious and divine. Ere long, however, comes a harsher time. Under the first beauty of man's life appears an infinite, earnest rigour: high sentiment will not avail, unless it can continue to be translated into noble action; which problem, in the destiny appointed for man born to toil, is difficult, interminable, capable of only approximate solution. What flowed softly in melodious coherence when seen and sung from a distance, proves rugged and unmanageable when practically handled. The fervid, lyrical gladness of past years gives place to a collected thoughtfulness and energy; nay often—so painful, so unexpected are the contradictions everywhere met with—to gloom, sadness and anger; and not till after long struggles and hard-contested victories is the youth changed into a man.

Without pushing the comparison too far, we may say that in the culture of the European mind, or in Literature which is the symbol and product of this, a certain similarity of progress is manifested. That tuneful Chivalry, that high cheerful devotion to the Godlike in heaven, and to Women, its emblems on earth; those Crusades and vernal Love-songs were the heroic doings of the world's youth; to which also a corresponding manhood succeeded. Poetic recognition is followed by scientific examination: the reign of Fancy, with its gay images, and graceful, capricious sports, has ended; and now Understanding, which when reunited to Poetry, will one day become Reason and a nobler Poetry, has to do its part. Meantime, while there is no such union but a more and more widening controversy, prosaic discord and the unmusical sounds of labour and effort are alone audible.

The era of the Troubadours, who in Germany are the Minnesingers, gave place in that country, as in all others, to a period which we might name the Didactic; for Literature now ceased to be a festal melody, and addressing itself rather to the intellect than to the heart, became as it were a school lesson. Instead of hat cheerful, warbling Song of Love and Devotion, wherein

nothing was taught, but all was believed and worshipped, we have henceforth only wise Apologues, Fables, Satires, Exhortations, and all manner of edifying Moralities. Poetry, indeed, continued still to be the form of composition for all that can be named Literature; except Chroniclers, and others of that genus, valuable not as doers of the work, but as witnesses of the work done, these Teachers all wrote in verse: nevertheless, in general there are few elements of Poetry in their performances; the internal structure has nothing poetical, is a mere business-like prose: in the rhyme alone, at most in the occasional graces of expression, could we discover that it reckoned itself poetical. In fact, we may say that Poetry, in the old sense, had now altogether gone out of sight: instead of her heavenly vesture and Ariel-harp, she had put on earthly weeds, and walked abroad with ferula and horn-book. It was long before this new guise would sit well on her; only in late centuries that she could fashion it into beauty, and learn to move with it, and mount with it, gracefully as of old.

Looking now more specially to our historical task, if we inquire how far into the subsequent time this Didactic Period extended, no precise answer can well be given. On this side there seem no positive limits to it; with many superficial modifications, the same fundamental element pervades all spiritual efforts of mankind through the following centuries. We may say that it is felt even in the Poetry of our own time; nay, must be felt through all time; inasmuch as Inquiry once awakened cannot fall asleep, or exhaust itself: thus Literature must continue to have a didactic character; and the Poet of these days is he who, not indeed by mechanical but by poetical methods, can instruct us, can more and more evolve for us the mystery of our Life. However, after a certain space, this Didactic Spirit in Literature cannot, as a historical partition and landmark, be available here. At the era of the Reformation, it reaches its acme; and, in singular shape, steps forth on the high places of Public Business, and amid storms and thunder, not without brightness and true fire from Heaven, convulsively renovates the world. This is, as it were, the apotheosis of the Didactic Spirit, where it first attains a really poetical concentration, and stimulates mankind into heroism of word and of action also. Of the latter, indeed, still more than of the former; for not till a much more recent time, almost till our own time, has Inquiry in some measure again reconciled itself to Belief; and Poetry, though in detached tones, arisen on us, as a true musical Wisdom. Thus is the deed, in certain circumstances, readier and greater than the word: Action strikes fiery light from the rocks it has to hew

through; Poetry reposes in the skyey splendour which that rough passage has led to. But after Luther's day, this Didactic Tendency again sinks to a lower level; mingles with manifold other tendencies; among which, admitting that it still forms the main stream, it is no longer so pre-eminent, positive, and universal, as properly to characterize the whole. For minor Periods and subdivisions in Literary History, other more superficial characteristics must, from time to time, be fixed on.

Neither, examining the other limit of this Period, can we say specially where it begins; for, as usual in these things, it begins not at once, but by degrees: Kings' reigns and changes in the form of Government have their day and date; not so changes in the spiritual condition of a people. The Minnesinger Period and the Didactic may be said to commingle, as it were, to overlap each other, for above a century: some writers partially belonging to the latter class occur even prior to the times of Friedrich II.; and a certain echo of the Minne-song had continued down to Manesse's day, under Ludwig the Bavarian.

Thus from the Minnesingers to the Church Reformers, we have a wide space of between two and three centuries; in which, of course, it is impossible for us to do more than point out one or two of the leading appearances; a minute survey and exposition being foreign from our object.

Among the Minnesingers themselves, as already hinted, there are not wanting some with an occasionally didactic character: Gottfried of Strasburg, known also as a translator of *Sir Tristrem*, and two other Singers, Reinmar von Zweter, and Walter von der Vogelweide, are noted in this respect; the last two especially, for their oblique glances at the Pope and his Monks, the unsound condition of which body could not escape even a Love-minstrel's eye.* But perhaps the special step of transition may

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* Reinmar von Zweter, for example, says once:

" Har und bart nach Klostersitten gemitten	" Hair and beard cut in the cloister fashion
Des vind ich genuog,	Of this find I enough,
Ich vinde aber der nit vil dies rehte tragen;	But of those that wear it well I find not many;
Halb visch halb man ist visch noch man	Half-fish half-man is neither fish nor man,
Gar visch ist visch, gar man ist man,	Whole fish is fish, whole man is man,
Als ich erkennen Kan:	As I discover can:
Von hofmunchen und von Klosterrittern	Of court-monks and of cloister-knights
Kan ich niht gesagen:	Can I not speak:
Hofmunchen, Klosterrittern, diesen beiden	Court-monks, cloister-knights, these both
Wolt ich reht ze rehte wol bescheiden,	Would I rightly put to rights,
Ob sie sich wolten lassen vinden,	Whether they would let themselves be found
Da sie ze rehte solten wesen;	Where they by right should be;
In Kloster munche solten genesen,	In their cloister monks should flourish,
So suln des hofs sich ritter unterwinden.	And knights obey at court.

be still better marked in the works of a rhymer named the *Stricker*, whose province was the epic, or narrative; into which he seems to have introduced this new character in unusual measure. As the *Stricker* still retains some shadow of a place in Literary History, the following notice of him may be borrowed here. Of his personal history, it may be premised, nothing whatever is known; not even why he bears this title; unless it be, as some have fancied, that *Stricker*, which now signifies *Knitter*, in those days meant *Schreiber* (Writer):

"In truth," says Bouterwek, "this pains-taking man was more a writer than a Poet, yet not altogether without talent in that latter way. Voluminous enough, at least, is his redaction of an older epic work on the *War of Charlemagne with the Saracens in Spain*, the old German original of which is perhaps nothing more than a translation from the Latin or French. Of a Poet in the Stricker's day, when the romantic Epos had attained such polish among the Germans, one might have expected that this ancient Fiction, since he was pleased to remodel it, would have served as the material to a new poetic creation; or at least, that he would have breathed into it some new and more poetic spirit. But such a developement of these Charlemagne Fables was reserved for the *Italian* Poets. The Stricker has not only left the matter of the old Tale almost unaltered, but has even brought out its unpoetical lineaments in stronger light. The fanatical piety with which it is overloaded, probably appeared to him its chief merit. To convert these cast-away Heathens, or failing this, to annihilate them, Charlemagne takes the field. Next to him, the hero Roland plays a main part there. Consultations are held, ambassadors negotiate; war breaks out with all its terrors; the Heathen fight stoutly: at length comes the well known defeat of the Franks at Ronceval, or Roncevaux; where, however, the Saracens also lose so many men, that their King Marsilies dies of grief. The Narrative is divided into chapters, each chapter again into sections, an epitome of which is always given at the outset. Miracles occur in the story, but for most part only such as tend to evince how God himself inspirited the Christians against the Heathen. Of any thing like free, bold flights of imagination there is little to be met with: the higher features of the genuine romantic epos are altogether wanting. In return, it has a certain didactic temper, which, indeed, announces itself even in the Introduction. The latter, it should be added, prepossesses us in the Poet's favour: testifying with what warm interest the noble and great in man's life affected him."*

See also in *Flögel*, (*Geschichte der Romischen Litteratur*, b. iii. s. 11,) immediately following this Extract, a formidable dinner-course of *Lies*,—boiled lies, roasted lies, lies with saffron, forced-meat lies, and other varieties, arranged by this same artist;—farther, (in page 9,) a rather gallant onslaught from Walter von der Vogelweide, on the *Babest* (Pope, *Papst*,) himself. All this was before the middle of the thirteenth century.

* Bouterwek, ix. 245. Other versified Narratives by this worthy *Stricker*, still exist; but for the most part only in manuscript. Of these the History of *Wilhelm von Blumethal*, a Round-table adventurer, appears to be the principal. The Poem on Charlemagne stands printed in Schilter's *Thesaurus*; its exact date is matter only of conjecture.

The *Wälsche Gast* (Italian Guest) of Zirkler, or Tirkeler, who professes, truly or not, to be from Friuli, and, as a benevolent Stranger, or *Guest*, tells the Germans hard truths somewhat in the spirit of Juvenal; even the famous *Meister Freidank* (Master Freethought) with his wise Book of rhymed Maxims, entitled *Die Bescheidenheit* (Modesty); still more the sagacious *Tyro, King of Scots*, quite omitted in history, but who teaches *Friedebrand, his Son*, with some discrimination, how to choose a good priest; —all these, with others of still thinner substance, rise before us only as faint shadows, and must not linger in our field of vision. Greatly the most important figure in the earlier part of this era is Hugo von Trimberg, to whom we must now turn; author of various poetico-preceptorial works, one of which, named the *Renner* (Runner), has long been known not only to antiquarians, but, in some small degree, even to the general reader. Of Hugo's Biography he has himself incidentally communicated somewhat. His surname he derives from Trimberg, his birth-place, a village on the Saale, not far from Würzburg, in Franconia. By profession he appears to have been a Schoolmaster: in the conclusion of his *Renner*, he announces that "he kept school for forty years at Thürstadt, near Bamberg;" farther, that his Book was finished in 1300, which date he confirms by other local circumstances.

"*Der dies Buch gedichtet hat,*
Der pflag der schulen zu Thürstat.
Vierzig jar vor Babenberg,
Und hiess Hugo von Trymberg.
Es ward follenbracht das ist wahr,
Da tausent und dreyhundert jar
Nach Christus Geburt vergangen waren,
Drithalbs jar gleich vor den jaren
Da die Juden in Franken wurden erschlagen.
Bey der zeit und in den tagen,
Da bischoff Leupolt bischoff was
Zu Babenberg."

Some have supposed that the Schoolmaster dignity, claimed here, refers not to actual wielding of the birch, but to a Mastership and practice of instructing in the art of Poetry, which about this time began to have its scholars and even guild-brethren, as the feeble remnants of Minne-song gradually took the new shape, in which we afterwards see it, of *Meistergesang* (Master-song): but for this hypothesis, so plain are Hugo's own words, there seems little foundation. It is uncertain whether he was a clerical personage, certain enough that he was not a monk: at all events, he must have been a man of reading and knowledge; industrious in study, and superior in literary acquirement to most in that time. By a collateral account, we

find that he had gathered a library of two hundred Books; among which were a whole dozen by himself, five in Latin, seven in German, hoping that by means of these, and the furtherance they would yield in the pedagogic craft, he might live at ease in his old days; in which hope, however, he had been disappointed; seeing, as himself rather feelingly complains, "no one now cares to study knowledge (*Kunst*), which, nevertheless, deserves honour and favour." What these twelve Books of Hugo's own writing were, can, for most part, only be conjectured. Of one, entitled the *Sammler* (Collector), he himself makes mention in the *Renner:* he had begun it above thirty years before this latter; but having by ill accident lost great part of his manuscript, abandoned it in anger. Of another work, Flögel has discovered the following notice in Johann Wolf:

"About this time (1599) did that virtuous and learned nobleman, Conrad von Liebenstein, present to me a manuscript of Hugo von Trimberg, who flourished about the year 1300. It sets forth the shortcomings of all ranks, and especially complains of the clergy. It is entitled *Reu ins Land* (Repentance to the Land); and now lies with the Lord of Zillhart."*

The other ten appear to have vanished even to the last vestige.

Such is the whole sum-total of information which the assiduity of commentators has collected touching worthy Hugo's life and fortunes. Pleasant it were to see him face to face; gladly would we penetrate through that long vista of five hundred years, and peep into his book-presses, his frugal fireside, his noisy mansion with its disobedient urchins, now that it is all grown so silent: but the distance is too far, the intervening medium intercepts our light; only in uncertain, fluctuating dusk, will Hugo and his environment appear to us. Nevertheless, Hugo, as he had in Nature, has in History, an immortal part: as to his inward man, we can still see that he was no mere bookworm, or simple Parson Adams; but of most observant eye; shrewd, inquiring, considerate, who from his Thurstadt school-chair, as from a *sedes exploratoria*, had looked abroad into the world's business, and formed his own theory about many things. A cheerful, gentle heart had been given him; a quiet, sly humour; light to see beyond the garments and outer hulls of Life into Life itself: the long-necked purse, the threadbare-gabardine, the languidly-simmering pot of his pedagogic household establishment were a small matter to him: he was a man to look on these things with a meek smile; to nestle down quietly, as the lark, in the lowest furrow; nay to mount therefrom singing, and soar above all mere

* Flögel, (iii. 15,) who quotes for it, *Wolfii Lexicon. Memorab.* t. ii. p. 1061.

earthly heights. How many potentates, and principalities, and proud belligerents have evaporated into utter oblivion, while the poor Thürstadt Schoolmaster still holds together!

This *Renner*, which seems to be his final work, probably comprises the essence of all those lost Volumes; and indeed a synopsis of Hugo's whole Philosophy of Life, such as his two hundred Books and long decades of quiet observation and reflexion had taught him. Why it has been named the *Renner*, whether by Hugo himself, or by some witty Editor and Transcriber, there are two guesses forthcoming, and no certain reason. One guess is that this Book was to *run* after the lost Tomes, and make good to mankind the deficiency occasioned by want of them; which happy-thought, hide-bound though it be, might have seemed sprightly enough to Hugo and that age. The second guess is that our Author, in the same style of easy wit, meant to say, this Book must *hasten* and run out into the world, and do him a good turn quickly, while it was yet time, he being so very old. But leaving this, we may remark, with certainty enough, that what we have left of Hugo was first printed under this title of *Renner*, at Frankfort on the Mayn, in 1549; and quite incorrectly, being modernized to all lengths, and often without understanding of the sense; the Edition moreover is now rare, and Lessing's project of a new one did not take effect; so that, except in Manuscripts, of which there are many, and in printed Extracts, which also are numerous, the *Renner* is to most readers a sealed book.

In regard to its literary merit opinions seem to be nearly unanimous. The highest merit, that of poetical unity, or even the lower merit of logical unity, is not ascribed to it by the warmest panegyrist. Apparently this work had been a sort of store-chest, wherein the good Hugo had, from time to time, deposited the fruits of his meditation as they chanced to ripen for him; here a little, and there a little, in all varieties of kind; till the chest being filled, or the fruits nearly exhausted, it was sent forth and published to the world, by the easy process of turning up the bottom.

'No theme,' says Bouterwek, 'leads with certainty to the other: satirical descriptions, proverbs, fables, jests, and other narratives all huddled together at random, to teach us in a poetical way a series of moral lessons. A strained and frosty Allegory opens the work: then follow the Chapters of *Meyden* (Maids); of Wicked Masters; of Pages; of Priests, Monks, and Friars, with great minuteness; then of a Young Minx with an Old Man; then of Bad Landlords, and of Robbers. Next come divers Virtues and Vices, all painted out, and judged of. Towards the end, there follows a sort of Moral Natural History; Considerations on the dispositions of various Animals; a little Botany and Physiology; then again all manner of didactic Narratives; and finally a Meditation on the Last Day.'

Whereby it would appear clearly, as hinted, that Hugo's *Runner* pursues no straight course; and only through the most labyrinthic mazes, here wandering in deep thickets, or even sinking in moist bogs, there panting over mountain-tops by narrow sheep-tracks; but for most part jigging lightly on sunny greens, accomplishes his wonderful journey.

Nevertheless, as we ourselves can testify, there is a certain charm in the worthy man; his work, such as it is, seems to flow direct from the heart, in natural, spontaneous abundance; is at once cheerful and earnest; his own simple, honest, mildly decided character is everywhere visible. Besides Hugo, as we said, is a person of understanding; has looked over many provinces of Life, not without insight; in his quiet, sly way, can speak forth a shrewd word on occasion. There is a genuine though slender vein of Humour in him; nor in his satire does he ever lose temper, but rebukes sportfully; not indeed laughing aloud, scarcely even sardonically smiling, yet with a certain subdued roguery, and patriarchal knowingness. His fancy too, if not brilliant, is copious almost beyond measure; no end to his crotchets, suppositions, minute specifications. Withal he is original: his maxims, even when professedly borrowed, have passed through the test of his own experience, all carries in it some stamp of his personality. Thus the *Renner*, though in its whole extent perhaps too boundless and planless for ordinary nerves, makes, in the fragmentary state, no unpleasant reading: that old doggrel is not without significance; often in its straggling, broken, entangled strokes some vivid antique picture is strangely brought out for us.

As a specimen of Hugo's general manner, we select a small portion of his Chapter on *The Maidens;* that passage where he treats of the highest enterprize a maiden can engage in, the choosing of a husband. It will be seen at once that Hugo is no Minnesinger, glozing his fair audience with madrigals and hypocritical gallantry; but a quiet Natural Historian, reporting such facts as he finds, in perfect good nature, it is true, yet not without an under-current of satirical humour. His quaint style of thought, his garrulous minuteness of detail are partly apparent here. The first few lines we may give in the original also; not as they stand in the Frankfort Edition, but as professing to derive themselves from a genuine ancient source:

> " *Kortzyn mut und lange haar*
> *han die meyde sunderbar*
> *dy zu yren jaren kommen synt*
> *dy wal machen yn daz hertze blynt*

dy auchgn wyren yn den weg
von den auchgn get eyn steg
tzu dem hertzen nit gar lang
uff deme stege ist vyl mannig gedang
*wen sy woln memen oder nit."**

"Short of sense and long of hair,
Strange enough the maidens are;
Once they to their teens have got,
Such a choosing, this or that:
Eyes they have that ever spy,
From the Eyes a Path doth lie
To the Heart, and is not long,
Hereon travel thoughts a throng,
Whomso they will have or not."

"Woe's me," continues Hugo, "how often this same is repeated; till they grow all confused how to choose, from so many, whom they have brought in without number. First they bethink them so: This one is short, that one is long; he is courtly and old, the other young and ill-favoured; this is lean, that is bald, here is one fat, there one thin; this is noble, that is weak; he never yet broke a spear: one is white, another black; that other is named Master Hack *(hartz)*; this is pale, that again is red; he seldom eateth cheerful bread;"

and so on, through endless other varieties, in new streams of soft-murmuring doggrel, whereon, as on the Path it would represent, do travel thoughts a throng, whomso these fair irresolutes will have or not.

Thus, for Hugo, the age of Minstrelsy is gone: not soft Loveditties, and hymns of Lady-worship, but sceptical criticism, importunate animadversion, not without a shade of mockery, will he indite. The age of Chivalry is gone also. To a Schoolmaster, with empty larder, the pomp of tournaments could never have been specially interesting; but now such passages of arms, how free and gallant soever, appear to him no other than the probable product of delirium. "God might well laugh, could it be," says he, "to see his mannikins live so wondrously on this Earth: two of them will take to fighting, and nowise let it alone; nothing serves but with two long spears they must ride and stick at one another: greatly to their hurt; when one is by the other skewered through the bowels or through the weazand, he hath small profit thereby. But who forced them to such straits?" The answer is too plain: some modification of Insanity. Nay so contemptuous is Hugo of all chivalrous things, that he openly grudges any time spent in reading of them; in Don Quixote's Library he would have made short work:

* Horn, *Geschichte und Kritik der deutschen Poesie*, s. 44.

" How Master Dietrich fought with Ecken,
And how of old the stalwart Recken
Were all by women's craft betrayed:
Such things you oft hear sung and said,
And wept at, like a case of sorrow;—
Of our own Sins we'll think to-morrow."

This last is one of Hugo's darker strokes; for commonly, though moral perfection is ever the one thing needful with him, he preaches in a quite cheerful tone; nay, ever and anon, enlivens us with some timely joke. Considerable part, and apparently much the best part, of his work is occupied with satirical Fables, and *Schwänke* (jests, comic tales); of which latter class we have seen some possessing true humour, and the simplicity which is their next merit. These, however, we must wholly omit; and indeed, without farther parleying, here part company with Hugo. We leave him, not without esteem, and a touch of affection, due to one so true-hearted, and, under that old humble guise, so gifted with intellectual talent. Safely enough may be conceded him the dignity of chief moral Poet of his time; nay, perhaps, for his solid character, and modest manly ways, a much higher dignity. Though his Book can no longer be considered, what the Frankfort Editor describes it in his interminable title-page, as a universal *vade-mecum* for mankind, it is still so adorned with many fine sayings, and in itself of so curious a texture, that it seems well worth preserving. A proper Edition of the *Renner* will one day doubtless make its appearance among the Germans. Hugo is further remarkable as the precursor and prototype of Sebastian Brandt, whose *Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) has, with perhaps less merit, had infinitely better fortune than the *Renner*.

Some half century later in date, and no less didactic in character than Hugo's *Renner*, another work, still rising visible above the level of those times, demands some notice from us. This is the *Edelstein* (Gem) of Bonerius, or Boner, which at one time, to judge by the number of Manuscripts, whereof fourteen are still in existence, must have enjoyed great popularity; and indeed, after long years of oblivion, it has, by recent critics and redactors, been again brought into some circulation. Boner's *Gem* is a collection of a Hundred Fables done into German rhyme; and derives its proud designation not more perhaps from the supposed excellence of the work, than from a witty allusion to the title of Fable First, which, in the chief Manuscript, chances to be that well-known one of the Cock scraping for Barleycorns, and finding instead thereof a precious stone (*Edelstein*) or Gem: *Von einem*

Hanen und dem Edelen steine; whereupon the author, or some kind friend, remarks in a sort of Prologue:

> *"Dies Büchlein mag der Edelstein*
> *Wol heiszen wand es in treit (in sich trägt)*
> *Bischaft (Beispiel) manger kluogheit."*

"This Bookling may well be called the Gem, sith it includes examples of many a prudence;"—which name accordingly, as we see, it bears even to this day.

Boner and his Fables have given rise to much discussion among the Germans: scattered at short distances throughout the last hundred years, there is a series of Selections, Editions, Translations, Critical Disquisitions, some of them in the shape of Academic Program; among the labourers in which enterprize we find such men as Gellert and Lessing. A *Bonerii Gemma*, or Latin version of the work, was published by Oberlin, in 1782; Eschenburg sent forth an Edition in modern German, in 1810; Benecke a reprint of the antique original, in 1816. So that now a faithful duty has been done to Boner; and what with Bibliographical Inquiries, what with vocabularies and learned collations of Texts, he that runs may read whatever stands written in the *Gem*.

Of these diligent lucubrations, with which we strangers are only in a remote degree concerned, it will be sufficient here to report in few words the main results,—not indeed very difficult to report. First then, with regard to Boner himself, we have to say that nothing whatever has been discovered: who, when, or what that worthy moralist was, remains, and may always remain, entirely uncertain. It is merely conjectured, from the dialect, and other more minute indications, that his place of abode was the north-west quarter of Switzerland; with still higher probability that he lived about the middle of the fourteenth century; from his learning and devout pacific temper, some have inferred that he was a monk or priest; however, in one Manuscript of his *Gem*, he is designated, apparently by some ignorant Transcriber, a knight, *ein Ritter gotz alsus:* from all which, as above said, our only conclusion is that nothing can be concluded.

Johann Scherz, about the year 1710, in what he called *Philosophiæ moralis Germanorum medii ævi Specimen*, sent forth certain of these Fables, with expositions, but apparently without naming the Author; to which *Specimen* Gellert in his *Dissertatio de poesi apologorum* had again, some forty years afterwards, invited attention. Nevertheless, so total was the obscurity which Boner had fallen into, that Bodmer, already known as the resuscitator of the *Nibelungen Lied*, in printing the *Edelstein* from an old Manuscript, in 1752, mistook its probable date by about a century, and

gave his work the title of *Fables from the Minnesinger Period*,* without naming the Fabulist, or guessing whether there were one or many. In this condition stood the matter, when several years afterwards, Lessing, pursuing another inquiry, came across the track of this Boner; was allured into it; proceeded to clear it; and moving briskly forward with a sure eye, and sharp critical axe, hewed away innumerable entanglements; and so opened out a free avenue and vista, where strangely, in remote depth of antiquarian woods, the whole ancient Fable-manufactory, with Boner and many others working in it, becomes visible, in all the light which probably will ever be admitted to it. He who has perplexed himself with *Romulus and Rimicius*, and Nevelet's *Anonymus*, and *Avianus*, and still more, with the false guidance of their many commentators, will find help and deliverance in this light, thorough-going Inquiry of Lessing's.†

Now, therefore, it became apparent: first, that those supposed *Fables from the Minnesinger Period*, of Bodmer, were in truth written by one Boner, in quite another Period; secondly, that Boner was not properly the author of them, but the borrower and free versifier from certain Latin originals; farther, that the real title was *Edelstein;* and strangest of all, that the work had been printed three centuries before Bodmer's time, namely, at Bamberg, in 1461; of which Edition, indeed, a tattered copy, typographically curious, lay, and probably lies, in the Wolfenbüttel Library, where Lessing then waited, and wrote. The other discoveries, touching Boner's personality, and locality, are but conjectures, due also to Lessing, and have been stated already.

As to the *Gem* itself, about which there as been such scrambling, we may say, now when it is cleaned and laid out before us, that, though but a small seed-pearl, it has a genuine value. To us Boner is interesting by his antiquity, as the speaking witness of many long-past things; to his contemporaries again he must have been still more interesting as the reporter of so many new things. These Fables of his, then for the first time rendered out of inaccessible Latin‡ into German metre, contain no little edify-

* Koch also, with a strange deviation from his usual accuracy, dates Boner, in one place, 1220; and in another, "towards the latter half of the fourteenth century." See his *Compendium*, p. 28, and p. 200. vol. i.

† *Sammtliche Schriften*, B. 8.

‡ The two originals to whom Lessing has traced all his Fables are *Avianus* and Nevelet's *Anonymus;* concerning which personages the following brief notice by Jörden's (*Lexicon*, i. 161) may be inserted here: "Flavius Avianus (who must not be confounded with another Latin Poet, *Avienus*) lived, as is believed, under the two Antonines in the second century: he has left us forty-two Fables in elegiac measure, the best Editions of which are that by Kannegiesser (Amsterdam, 1731), that by," &c. &c. With respect to the *Anonymus* again: "Under this designation is understood the half-barbarous Latin Poet, whose sixty Fables, in elegiac measure, stand in the col-

ing matter, had we not known it before: our old friends, the Fox with the musical Raven; the Man and Boy taking their Ass to market, and so inadequate to please the public in their method of transporting him; the Bishop that gave his Nephew a Cure of Souls, but durst not trust him with a Basket of Pears; all these and many more figure here. But apart from the material of his Fables, Boner's style and manner has an abiding merit. He is not so much a Translator as a free Imitator: he tells the story in his own way; appends his own moral, and, except that in the latter department he is apt to be a little prolix, acquits himself to high satisfaction. His narrative, in those old limping rhymes, is cunningly enough brought out: artless, lively, graphic, with a spicing of innocent humour, a certain childlike archness, which is the chief merit of a Fable. Such is the German Æsop; a character whom in the North-west district of Switland, at that time of day, we should hardly have looked for.

Could we hope, that, to many of our readers the old rough dialect of Boner would be intelligible, it were easy to vindicate these praises. As matters stand, we can only venture on one translated specimen, which, in this shape claims much allowance; the Fable, also, is nowise the best, or perhaps the worst, but simply one of the shortest. For the rest, we have rendered the old doggrel into new, with all possible fidelity:

THE FROG AND THE STEER.

Of him that striveth after more honour than he should.

A Frog with Frogling by his side
Came hopping thro' the plain, one tide:
There he an Ox at grass did spy,
Much anger'd was the Frog thereby;
He said: 'Lord God, what was my sin
Thou madest me so small and thin?
Likewise I have no handsome feature,
And all dishonoured is my nature,
To other creatures far and near,
For instance, this same grazing Steer.'
The Frog would fain with Bullock cope,
'Gan brisk outblow himself in hope.
Then spake his Frogling: 'Father o' me,
It boots not, let thy blowing be;

lection, which Nevelet under the title *Mythologia Æsopica*, published at Frankfort in 1610, and which directly follow those of Avianus in that work. They are nothing else than versified translations of the Fables written in prose by *Romulus*, a noted Fabulist, whose era cannot be fixed, nor even his name made out to complete satisfaction."—The reader who wants deeper insight into these matters, may consult Lessing as cited above.

Thy nature hath forbid this battle,
Thou can'st not vie with the black-cattle.
Nathless let be the Frog would not,
Such prideful notion had he got;
Again to blow right sore 'gan he,
And said: 'Like Ox could I but be
In size, within this world there were
No Frog so glad, to thee I swear.'
The Son spake: 'Father, me is woe
Thou should'st torment thy body so,
I fear thou art to lose thy life,
Come follow me and leave this strife;
Good Father, take advice of me
And let thy boastful blowing be.'
Frog said: 'Thou needst not beck and nod,
I will not do 't, so help me God;
Big as this Ox is, I must turn,
Mine honour now it doth concern.'
He blew himself, and burst in twain,
Such of that blowing was his gain.

The like hath oft been seen of such
Who grasp at honour overmuch,
They must with none at all be doing,
But sink full soon and come to ruin.
He that, with wind of Pride accurs'd,
Much puffs himself, will surely burst;
He men miswishes and misjudges,
Inferiors scorns, superiors grudges,
Of all his equals is a hater
Much griev'd he is at any better;
Wherefore it were a sentence wise
Were his whole body set with Eyes,
Who envy hath, to see so well
What lucky hap each man befel,
That so he filled were with fury,
And burst asunder in a hurry;
And so full soon betid him this
Which to the Frog betided is.

Readers to whom such stinted twanging of the true Poetic Lyre, such cheerful fingering, though only of one and its lowest string, has any melody, may find enough of it in Benecke's *Roner*, a reproduction, as above stated, of the original *Edelstein;* which Edition we are authorized to recommend as furnished with all helps for such a study: less adventurous readers may still, from Eschenburg's half-modernized Edition, derive some contentment and insight.

Hugo von Trimberg and Boner, who stand out here as our chief Literary representatives of the Fourteenth Century, could play no such part in their own day, when the great men, who shone in the world's eye, were Theologians and Jurists, Politicians at the Imperial Diet; at best, Professors in the new Universities; of whom all memory has long since perished. So different is universal from temporary importance, and worth belonging to our manhood from that merely of our station or calling. Nevertheless, as every writer, of any true gifts, is "citizen both of his time and of his country," and the more completely the greater his gifts; so in the works of these two secluded individuals, the characteristic tendencies and spirit of their age may best be discerned.

Accordingly, in studying their commentators, one fact that cannot but strike us is, the great prevalence and currency which this species of Literature cultivated by them, had obtained in that era. Of Fable Literature, especially, this was the summer tide and highest efflorescence. The Latin originals which Boner partly drew from, descending, with manifold transformations and additions, out of classical times, were in the hands of the learned; in the living memories of the people, were numerous fragments of primeval Oriental Fable, derived perhaps through Palestine; from which two sources, curiously intermingled, a whole stream of Fables evolved itself; whereat the morally athirst, such was the genius of that time, were not slow to drink. Boner, as we have seen, worked in a field then zealously cultivated: nay was not Æsop himself, what we have for Æsop, a contemporary of his; the Greek Monk Planudes and the Swiss Monk Boner might be chaunting their Psalter at one and the same hour!

Fable, indeed, may be regarded as the earliest and simplest product of Didactic Poetry, the first attempt of Instruction clothing itself in Fancy: hence the antiquity of Fables, their universal diffusion in the childhood of nations, so that they have become a common property of all: hence also their acceptance and diligent culture among the Germans, among the Europeans, in this the first stage of an era when the whole bent of Literature was Didactic. But the Fourteenth Century was the age of Fable in a still wider sense: it was the age when whatever Poetry there remained took the shape of Apologue and moral Fiction: the higher spirit of Imagination had died away, or withdrawn itself into Religion; the lower and feebler not only took continual counsel of Understanding, but was content to walk in its leading-strings. Now was the time when human life and its relations were looked at with an earnest practical eye; and the moral perplexities that occur there, when man, hemmed in between the Would and the Should, or the Must, painfully hesitates, or altogether

sinks in that collision, were not only set forth in the way of precept, but embodied, for still clearer instruction, in Examples, and edifying Fictions. The Monks themselves, such of them as had any talent, meditated and taught in this fashion: witness that strange *Gesta Romanorum*, still extant, and once familiar over all Europe;—a Collection of Moral Tales, expressly devised for the use of Preachers, though only the Shakspeares, and in subsequent times, turned it to right purpose.* These and the like old *Gests*, with most of which the *Romans* had so little to do, were the staple Literature of that period; cultivated with great assiduity, and so far as mere invention, or compilation, of incident goes, with no little merit; for already almost all the grand destinies, and fundamental, ever-recurring entanglements of human life, are laid hold of and depicted here; so that, from the first, our modern Novelists and Dramatists could find nothing new under the sun, but everywhere, in contrivance of their Story, saw themselves forestalled. The boundless abundance of Narratives then current, the singular derivations and transmigrations of these, surprise antiquarian commentators: but, indeed, it was in this same century that Boccaccio, refining the gold from that so copious dross, produced his *Decamerone*, which still indicates the same fact in more pleasant fashion, to all readers. That in these universal tendencies of the time the Germans participated and co-operated, Boner's Fables, and Hugo's many Narrations, serious and comic, may, like two specimens from a great multitude, point out to us. The Madrigal had passed into the Apologue; the Heroic Poem, with its supernatural machinery and sentiment, into the Fiction of practical Life: in which latter species a prophetic eye might have discerned the coming *Tom Joneses* and *Wilhelm Meisters;* and with still more astonishment, the *Minerva Presses* of all nations, and this their huge transit-trade in Rags, all lifted from the dunghill, printed on, and returned thither, to the comfort of parties interested.

The Drama, as is well known, had an equally Didactic origin; namely, in those *Mysteries* contrived by the clergy for bringing home religious truth, with new force, to the universal comprehension. That this cunning device had already found its way into Germany, we have proof in a document too curious to be omitted here:

"In the year 1322, there was a play shown at Eisenach, which had a tragical enough effect. Markgraf Friedrich of Misnia, Landgraf also of Thuringia, having brought his tedious warfares to a conclusion,

* See an account of this curious Book in Douce's learned and ingenious *Illustrations of Shakspeare*.

and the country beginning now to revive under peace, his subjects were busy repaying themselves for the past distresses by all manner of diversions; to which end, apparently by the Sovereign's order, a dramatic representation of the *Ten Virgins* was schemed, and at Eisenach, in his presence, duly executed. This happened fifteen days after Easter, by indulgence of the Preaching Friars. In the *Chronicon Sampetrinum*, stands recorded that the play was enacted in the Beargarden (*in horto ferarum*), by the Clergy and their Scholars. But now, when it came to pass that the Wise Virgins would give the Foolish no oil, and these latter were shut out from the Bridegroom, they began to weep bitterly, and called on the Saints to intercede for them; who, however, even with Mary at their head, could effect nothing from God; but the Foolish Virgins were all sentenced to damnation. Which things the Landgraf seeing and hearing, he fell into a doubt, and was very angry; and said, 'What then is the Christian Faith, if God will not take pity on us, for intercession of Mary and all the Saints?' In this anger he continued five days; and the learned men could hardly enlighten him to understand the Gospel. Thereupon he was struck with apoplexy, and became speechless and powerless; in which sad state he continued, bed-rid, two years and seven months, and so died, being then fifty-five."*

Surely a serious warning, would they but take it, to Dramatic Critics not to venture beyond their depth! Had this fiery old Landgraf given up the reins of his imagination into his author's hands, he might have been pleased he knew not why: whereas the meshes of Theology, in which he kicks and struggles, here strangle the life out of him; and the Ten Virgins at Eisenach are more fatal to warlike men, than Æschylus' Furies at Athens were to weak women.

Neither were the unlearned People without their Literature, their Narrative Poetry; though how, in an age without printing and bookstalls, it was circulated among them; whether by strolling *Fiedelers* (Minstrels), who might recite as well as fiddle, or by other methods, we have not learned. However, its existence and abundance in this era, is sufficiently evinced by the multitude of *Volksbücher* (People's-Books) which issued from the Press, next century, almost as soon as there was a Press. Several of these, which still languidly survive among the people, or at least the children, of all countries, were of German composition; of most, so strangely had they been sifted and winnowed to and fro, it was impossible to fix the origin. But borrowed or domestic, they nowhere wanted admirers in Germany: the *Patient Helena*, the *Fair Magelone*, *Blue-Beard*, *Fortunatus;* these, and afterwards the *Seven Wise Masters*, with other more directly Æsopic ware, to which the introduction of the old Indian Stock, or *Book*

* Flögel, (*Geschichte der Romischen Litteratur*, iv. 287,) who founds on that old *Chronicon Sampetrinum Erfurtense*, contained in Meuke's Collection.

of Wisdom, translated from John of Capua's Latin,* one day formed a rich accession, were in all memories, and on all tongues.

Beautiful traits of Imagination and a pure genuine feeling, though under the rudest forms, shine forth in some of these old Tales: for instance, in *Magelone* and *Fortunatus;* which two, indeed, with others of a different stamp, Ludwig Tieck has, with singular talent, ventured, not unsuccessfully, to reproduce in our own time and dialect. A second class distinguish themselves by a homely, honest-hearted Wisdom, full of character and quaint devices; of which class the *Seven Wise Masters*, extracted chiefly from that *Gesta Romanorum* above mentioned, and containing "proverb-philosophy, anecdotes, fables, and jests, the seeds of which, on the fertile German soil, spread luxuriantly through several generations," is perhaps the best example. Lastly, in a third class, we find in full play that spirit of broad drollery, of rough, saturnine Humour, which the Germans claim as a special characteristic: among these, we must not omit to mention the *Schiltbürger*, correspondent to our own *Wise Men of Gotham;* still less, the far-famed *Tyll Eulenspiegel* (Tyll Owlglass), whose rogueries and waggeries belong, in the fullest sense, to this era.

This last is a true German work; for both the man Tyll Eulenspiegel, and the Book which is his history, were produced there. Nevertheless, Tyll's fame has gone abroad into all lands: this, the narrative of his exploits, has been published in innumerable editions, even with all manner of learned glosses, and translated into Latin, English, French, Dutch, Polish; nay, in several languages, as in his own, an *Eulenspiegelerei*, an *Espièglerie*, or dog's-trick, so named after him, still, by consent of lexicographers, keeps his memory alive. We may say, that to few mortals has it been granted to earn such a place in Universal History as Tyll: for now after five centuries, when Wallace's birth-place is unknown even to the Scots; and the admirable Crichton still more rapidly is grown a shadow; and Edward Longshanks sleeps unregarded save by a few Antiquarian English,—Tyll's native village is pointed out with pride to the traveller, and his tombstone, with a sculptured pun on his name, an Owl, namely, and a Glass, still stands, or pretends to stand, "at Möllen, near Lubeck," where, since 1350, his once nimble bones have been at rest. Tyll, in the calling he had chosen, naturally led a wandering life, as place after place became too hot for him; by which means he saw into many things with his own eyes; having been not only over all Westphalia and Saxony, but even in Poland, and as far as Rome.

* In 1483, by command of a certain Eberhard, Duke of Würtemberg. What relation this old *Book of Wisdom* bears to our actual *Pilpay*, we have not learned.

That in his old days, like other great men, he became an Autobiographer, and in trustful winter evenings, not on paper, but on air, and to the laughter-lovers of Möllen, composed this work himself, is purely a hypothesis; certain only that it came forth originally in the dialect of this region, namely, the *Platt-Deutsch;* and was therefrom translated, probably about a century afterwards, into its present High-German, as Lessing conjectures, by one Thomas Mürner, who on other grounds is not unknown to antiquarians. For the rest, write it who might, the Book is here, "abounding," as a wise Critic remarks, "in inventive humour, in rough merriment and broad drollery, not without a keen rugged shrewdness of insight; which properties must have made it irresistibly captivating to the popular sense; and, with all its fantastic extravagances and roguish crotchets, in many points instructive."

From Tyll's so captivating achievements, we shall here select one to insert some account of; the rather as the tale is soon told, and by means of it, we catch a little trait of manners, and through Tyll's spectacles, may peep into the interior of a Household, even of a Parsonage, in those old days.

"It chanced after so many adventures, that Eulenspiegel came to a Parson, who promoted him to be his Sacristan, or as we now say, Sexton. Of this Parson it is recorded that he kept a Concubine, who had but one eye, she also had a spite at Tyll, and was wont to speak evil of him to his master, and report his rogueries. Now while Eulenspiegel held this Sextoncy, the Easter-season came, and there was to be a Play set forth of the Resurrection of Our Lord. And as the people were not learned, and could not read, the Parson took his Concubine and stationed her in the holy Sepulchre by way of Angel. Which thing Eulenspiegel seeing, he took to him three of the simplest persons that could be found there, to enact the Three Marys; and the Parson himself, with a flag in his hand, represented Christ. Thereupon spake Eulenspiegel to the simple persons: 'When the Angel asks you, whom ye seek, ye must answer, The Parson's one-eyed Concubine.' Now it came to pass that the time arrived when they were to act, and the Angel asked them: 'Whom seek ye here?' and they answered, as Eulenspiegel had taught and bidden them, and said: 'We seek the Parson's one-eyed Concubine.' Whereby did the Parson observe that he was made a mock of. And when the Parson's Concubine heard the same, she started out of the Grave, and aimed a box at Eulenspiegel's face, but missed him, and hit one of the simple persons, who were representing the Three Marys. This latter then returned her a slap on the mouth, whereupon she caught him by the hair. But his wife seeing this, came running thither, and fell upon the Parson's Harlot. Which thing the Parson discerning, he threw down his flag, and sprang forward to his Harlot's assistance. Thus gave they one another hearty thwacking and basting, and there was great uproar in the Church. But when Eulen-

spiegel perceived that they all had one another by the ears in the Church, he went his ways, and came no more back."*

These and the like pleasant narratives were the People's Comedy in those days. Neither was their Tragedy wanting; as indeed both spring up spontaneously in all regions of human Life; however, their chief work of this latter class, the wild, deep, and now world-renowned, *Legend of Faust*, belongs to a somewhat later date.†

Thus, though the Poetry which spoke in rhyme was feeble enough, the spirit of Poetry could nowise be regarded as extinct; while Fancy, Imagination, and all the intellectual faculties necessary for that art, were in active exercise. Neither had the Enthusiasm of heart on which it still more intimately depends died out; but only taken another form. In lower degrees it expressed itself as an ardent zeal for Knowledge, and Improvement; for spiritual excellence such as the time held out and prescribed. This was no languid low-minded age; but of earnest busy effort; in all provinces of culture, resolutely struggling forward. Classical Literature, after long hindrances had now found its way into Germany also: old Rome was open, with all its wealth, to the intelligent eye; scholars of Chrysoloras were fast unfolding the treasures of Greece. School Philosophy, which had never obtained firm footing among the Germans, was in all countries

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* Flögel, iv. 290. For more of Eulenspiegel, see Görres' *Ueber die Volksbücher.*

† To the fifteenth century, say some who fix it on Johann Faust, the Goldsmith and partial Inventor of Printing: to the sixteenth century, say others, referring it to Johann Faust, Doctor in Philosophy; which individual did actually, as the Tradition also bears, study first at Wittenberg (where he might be one of Luther's pupils), then at Ingolstadt, where also he taught, and had a *Famulus* named Wagner, son of a clergyman at Wasserburg. Melancthon, Tritheim, and other credible witnesses, some of whom had seen the man, vouch sufficiently for these facts. The rest of the Doctor's history is much more obscure. He seems to have been of a vehement, unquiet temper; skilled in Natural Philosophy, and perhaps in the occult science of Conjuring, by aid of which two gifts, a much shallower man, wandering in Need and Pride over the world in those days, might, without any Mephistopheles, have worked wonders enough. Nevertheless, that he rode off through the air on a wine-cask, from Auerbach's Keller at Leipzig, in 1523, seems questionable; though an old carving, in that venerable Tavern, still mutely asserts it to the toper of this day. About 1560, his term of Thaumaturgy being over, he disappeared: whether, under feigned name, by the rope of some hangman; or "frightfully torn in pieces by the Devil, near the village of Rimlich, between Twelve and One in the morning," let each reader judge for himself. The latter was clearly George Rudolf Wiedemann's opinion, whose *Veritable History of the abominable Sins of Dr. Johann Faust*, came out at Hamburg in 1599; and is no less circumstantially announced in the old "People's-Book," *That everywhere-infamous Arch-Black Artist and Conjurer, Dr. Faust's Compact with the Devil, wonderful Walk and Conversation, and terrible End*, printed, seemingly without date, at Köln (Cologne) and Nürnberg; read by every one; written by we know not whom. See again, for farther insight, Görres' *Ueber die deutschen Volksbücher.* Another Work, (Leipzig, 1824,) expressly "On Faust and the Wandering Jew," which latter, in those times, wandered much in Germany, is also referred to.—*Conv. Lexicon, § Faust.*

drawing to a close; but the subtle, piercing vision, which it had fostered and called into activity, was henceforth to employ itself with new profit on more substantial interests. In such manifold praiseworthy endeavours the most ardent mind had ample arena.

A higher, purer enthusiasm, again, which no longer found its place in chivalrous Minstrelsy, might still retire to meditate and worship in religious Cloisters, where, amid all the corruption of monkish manners, there were not wanting men who aimed at, and accomplished, the highest problem of manhood, a life of spiritual Truth. Among the Germans, especially, that deep-feeling, deep-thinking, devout temper, now degenerating into abstruse theosophy, now purifying itself into holy eloquence, and clear apostolic light, was awake in this era; a temper which had long dwelt, and still dwells there; which ere long was to render that people worthy the honour of giving Europe a new Reformation, a new Religion. As an example of monkish diligence and zeal, if of nothing more, we here mention the German Bible of Mathias von Behaim, which, in his Hermitage at Halle, he rendered from the Vulgate, in 1343; the Manuscript of which is still to be seen in Leipzig. Much more conspicuous stand two other German Priests of this Period; to whom, as connected with Literature also, a few words must now be devoted.

Johann Tauler is a name which fails in no Literary History of Germany: he was a man famous in his own day as the most eloquent of preachers; is still noted by critics for his intellectual deserts; by pious persons, especially of the class called Mystics, is still studied as a practical instructor; and by all true inquirers prized as a person of high talent and moral worth. Tauler was a Dominican Monk; seems to have lived and preached at Strasburg; where, as his grave-stone still testifies, he died in 1361. His devotional works have been often edited: one of his modern admirers has written his biography; wherein perhaps this is the strangest fact, if it be one, that once in the pulpit "he grew suddenly dumb, and did nothing but weep; in which despondent state he continued for two whole years." Then, however, he again lifted up his voice, with new energy and new potency. We learn farther, that he "renounced the dialect of Philosophy, and spoke direct to the heart in language of the heart." His Sermons, composed in Latin and delivered in German, in which language, after repeated renovations and changes of dialect, they are still read, have, with his other writings, been characterized, by a native critic worthy of confidence, in these terms:

"They contain a treasure of meditations, hints, indications full of heartfelt piety, which still speak to the inmost longings and noblest wants of man's mind. His style is abrupt, compressed, signifi-

cant in its conciseness; the nameless depth of feelings struggles with the phraseology. He was the first that wrested from our German speech the fit expression for ideas of moral Reason and Emotion, and has left us riches in that kind, such as the zeal for purity and fulness of language in our own days cannot leave unheeded."—Tauler, it is added, "was a man who, imbued with genuine Devoutness, as it springs from the depths of a soul strengthened in self-contemplation, and, free and all-powerful, rules over Life and Effort,—attempted to train and win the people for a duty which had hitherto been considered as that of the learned class alone; to raise the Lay-world into moral study of Religion for themselves, that, so enfranchised from the bonds of unreflecting custom, they might regulate Creed and Conduct by strength self-acquired. He taught men to look within; by spiritual contemplation to feel the secret of their higher Destiny; to seek in their own souls what from without is never, or too scantily afforded; self-believing, to create what, by the dead letter of foreign Tradition, can never be brought forth." *

Known to all Europe, as Tauler is to Germany, and of a class with him, as a man of antique Christian walk, of warm devoutly-feeling, poetic spirit, and insight and experience in the deepest regions of man's heart and life, follows, in the next generation, Thomas Hamerken, or Hammerlein *(Malleolus)*; usually named *Thomas à Kempis*, that is, *Thomas of Kempen*, a village near Cologne, where he was born in 1388. Others contend that Kampen in Overyssel was his birthplace; however, in either case, at that era, more especially considering what he did, we can here regard him as a *Deutscher*, a German. For his spiritual and intellectual character we may refer to his works, written in the Latin tongue, and still known; above all, to his far-famed work *De Imitatione Christi*, which has been praised by such men as Luther, Leibnitz, Haller; and, what is more, has been read, and continues to be read, with moral profit, in all Christian languages and communions, having passed through upwards of a thousand editions, which number is yet daily increasing. A new English *Thomas à Kempis* was published only the other year. But the venerable man deserves a word from us, not only as a high, spotless Priest, and father of the Church, at a time when such were rare, but as a zealous promoter of learning, which, in his own country, he accomplished much to forward. Hammerlein, the son of poor parents, had been educated at the famous School of Deventer; he himself instituted a similar one at Zwoll, which long continued the grand classical seminary of the North. Among his own pupils we find enumerated Moritz von Spiegelberg, Rudolf von Lange, Rudolf Agricola, Antonius Liber, Ludwig Dringenberg, Alexander Hegius; of whom Agricola, with other

* Wachler, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der deutschen National literatur* (Lectures on the History of German National Literature), b. i. s. 131.

two, by advice of their teacher, visited Italy to study Greek; the whole six, united through manhood and life as they had been in youth and at school, are regarded as the founders of true classical literature among the Germans. Their scholastico-monastic establishments at Deventer, with Zwoll and its other numerous offspring, which rapidly extended themselves over the northwest of Europe from Artois to Silesia, and operated powerfully both in a moral and intellectual view, are among the characteristic redeeming features of that time; but the details of them fall not within our present limits.*

If now, quitting the Cloister and Library, we look abroad over active Life, and the general state of culture and spiritual endeavour as manifested there, we have on all hands the cheering prospect of a society in full progress. The Practical spirit, which had pressed forward into Poetry itself, could not but be busy and successful in those provinces where its home specially lies. Among the Germans, it is true, so far as political condition was concerned, the aspect of affairs had not changed for the better. The Imperial Constitution was weakened and loosened into the mere semblance of a Government; the head of which had still the title, but no longer the reality of sovereign power; so that Germany, ever since the times of Rudolf, had, as it were, ceased to be one great nation, and became a disunited, often conflicting aggregate of small nations. Nay, we may almost say, of petty districts, or even of households: for now, when every pitiful Baron claimed to be an independent potentate, and exercised his divine right of peace and war, too often in plundering the industrious Burgher, public Law could no longer vindicate the weak against the strong: except the venerable unwritten code of *Faustrecht* (Club-Law), there was no other valid. On every steep rock, or difficult fastness, these dread sovereigns perched themselves; studding the country with innumerable *Raubschlösser* (Robber-Towers), which now in the eye of the picturesque tourist look interesting enough, but in those days were interesting on far other grounds. Herein dwelt a race of persons, proud, ignorant, hungry; who, boasting of an endless pedigree, talked familiarly of living on the produce of their "Saddles" *(vom Sattel zu leben)*, that is to say, by the profession of highwayman, for which unluckily, as mentioned, there was then no effectual gallows. Some indeed might plunder as the eagle, others as the vulture and crow; but, in general, from men cultivating that walk of life, no profit in any other was to be looked for. Vain was it, however, for the Kaiser to publish edict on edict against them; nay, if he

* See Eichhorn's *Geschichte der Litteratur*, b. ii. s. 134.

destroyed their Robber-Towers new ones were built; was the old wolf hunted down, the cub had escaped, who reappeared when his teeth were grown. Not till industry and social cultivation had everywhere spread, and risen supreme, could that brood, in detail, be extirpated or tamed.

Neither was this miserable defect of police the only misery in such a state of things. For the Saddle-eating Baron, even in pacific circumstances, naturally looked down on the fruit-producing Burgher; who, again, feeling himself a wiser, wealthier, better, and, in time, a stronger man, ill brooked this procedure, and retaliated, or, by quite declining such communications, avoided it. Thus, throughout long centuries, and after that old Code of Club-Law had been well nigh abolished, the effort of the nation was still divided into two courses; the Noble and the Citizen would not work together, freely imparting and receiving their several gifts; but the culture of the polite arts, and that of the useful arts, had to proceed with mutual disadvantage, each on its separate footing. Indeed that supercilious and too marked distinction of ranks, which so ridiculously characterized the Germans, has only in very recent times disappeared.

Nevertheless here, as it ever does, the strength of the country lay in the middle classes; which were sound and active, and, in spite of all these hindrances, daily advancing. The Free towns, which, in Germany as elsewhere, the sovereign favoured, held within their walls a race of men as brave as they of the Robber-Tower, but exercising their bravery on fitter objects; who, by degrees, too, ventured into the field against even the greatest of these kinglets, and in many a stout fight taught them a juristic doctrine, which no head, with all its helmets, was too thick for taking in. The Four Forest Cantons had already testified in this way; their Tells and Stauffachers preaching, with apostolic blows and knocks, like so many Luthers; whereby, from their remote Alpine glens, all lands and all times have heard them, and believed them. By dint of such logic it began to be understood everywhere, that a Man, whether clothed in purple cloaks or in tanned sheep-skins, wielding the sceptre or the oxgoad, is neither Deity nor Beast, but simply a Man, and must comport himself accordingly.

But Commerce of itself was pouring new strength into every peaceable community; the Hanse League, now in full vigour, secured the fruits of industry over all the North. The havens of the Netherlands, thronged with ships from every sea, transmitted or collected their wide-borne freight over Germany; where, far inland, flourished market-cities, with their cunning workmen, their spacious warehouses, and merchants who in opulence vied with the richest. Except perhaps in the close vicinity of

Robber-Towers, and even there not always or altogether, Diligence, good Order, peaceful Abundance were everywhere conspicuous in Germany. Petrarch has celebrated, in warm terms, the beauties of the Rhine, as he witnessed them; the rich, embellished, cultivated aspect of land and people: Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, expresses himself, in the next century, with still greater emphasis; he says, and he could judge, having seen both, "that the King of Scotland did not live so handsomely as a moderate Citizen of Nürnberg:" indeed Conrad Celtes, another contemporary witness informs us, touching these same citizens, that their wives went abroad loaded with the richest jewels, that "most of their household utensils were of silver and gold." For, as Æneas Sylvius adds, "their mercantile activity is astonishing; the greater part of the German nation consists of merchants." Thus too, in Augsburg, the Fugger family, which sprang, like that of the Medici, from smallest beginnings, were fast rising into that height of commercial greatness, such that Charles V., in viewing the Royal Treasury at Paris, could say, "I have a weaver in Augsburg able to buy it all with his own gold."* With less satisfaction the same haughty Monarch had to see his own Nephew wedded to the fair Philip-

* Charles had his reasons for such a speech. This same Anton Fugger, to whom he alluded here, had often stood by him in straits; showing a munificence and even generosity worthy of the proudest princes. During the celebrated Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, the Emperor lodged for a whole year in Anton's house; and Anton was a man to warm his Emperor "at a fire of cinnamon wood," and to burn therein "the bonds for large sums owing him by his majesty." For all which, Anton and his kindred had countships, and princeships, in abundance; also the right to coin money, but no solid bullion to exercise such right on; which however they repeatedly did on bullion of their own. This Anton left six millions of gold-crowns in cash; "besides precious articles, jewels, properties in all countries of Europe, and both the Indies." The Fuggers had ships on every sea, waggons on every highway; they worked the Carinthian Mines, even Albrecht Dürer's Pictures must pass through their warehouses to the Italian market. However, this family had other merits than their mountains of metal, their kindness to needy Sovereigns, and even their all-embracing spirit of commercial enterprize. They were famed for acts of general beneficence, and did much charity where no imperial thanks were to be looked for. To found Hospitals and Schools, on the most liberal scale, was a common thing with them. In the sixteenth century, three benevolent brothers of the House purchased a suburb of Augsburg; rebuilt it with small commodious houses, to be let to indigent industrious burghers for a trifling rent: this is the well-known *Fuggerei*, which still existing, with its own walls and gate, maintains their name in daily currency there.—The founder of this remarkable family did actually drive the shuttle in the village of Göggingen, near Augsburg, about the middle of the Fourteenth Century; "but in 1619," says the *Spiegel der Ehren* (Mirror of Honour), "the noble stem had so branched out, that there were forty-seven Counts and Countesses belonging to it, and of young descendants as many as there are days in the year." Four stout boughs of this same noble stem, in the rank of Princes, still subsist and flourish. "Thus in the generous Fuggers," says that above-named *Mirror*, "was fulfilled our Saviour's promise: "Give and it shall be given you."—Conv. Lexicon, § *Fugger-Geschlecht*.

pine Welser, daughter of another merchant in that city, and for wisdom and beauty the paragon of her time.*

In this state of economical prosperity, Literature and Art, such kinds of them at least as had a practical application, could not want encouragement. It is mentioned as one of the furtherances to Classical Learning among the Germans, that these Free Towns, as well as numerous petty Courts of Princes, exercising a sovereign power, required individuals of some culture to conduct their Diplomacy; one man able at least to write a handsome Latin style was an indispensable requisite. For a long while even this small accomplishment was not to be acquired in Germany; where, such had been the troublous condition of the Governments, there were yet, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, no Universities: however, a better temper and better fortune began at length to prevail among the German Sovereigns; the demands of the time insisted on fulfilment. The University of Prague was founded in 1348, that of Vienna in 1364;† and now, as if to make up for the delay, princes and communities on all hands made haste to establish similar Institutions; so that before the end of the century we find three others, Heidelberg, Cologne, Erfurt; in the course of the next, no fewer than eight more, of which Leipzig (in 1404) is the most remarkable. Neither did this honourable zeal grow cool in the sixteenth century, or even down to our own, when Germany, boasting of some forty great Schools and twenty-two Universities, four of which date within the last thirty years, may fairly reckon itself the best school-provided country in Europe; as, indeed, those who in any measure know it, are aware that it is also indisputably the best educated.

Still more decisive are the proofs of national activity, of progressive culture, among the Germans, if we glance at what con-

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* The Welsers were of patrician descent, and had for many centuries followed commerce at Augsburg, where, next only to the Fuggers, they played a high part. It was they, for example, that, at their own charges, first colonized Venezuela; that equipped the first German ship to India, "the Journal of which still exists:" they united with the Fuggers to lend Charles V. twelve *Tonnen Gold*, 1,200,000 Florins. The fair Philippine, by her pure charms and honest wiles, worked out a reconciliation with Kaiser Ferdinand the First, her Father-in-law; lived thirty happy years with her husband; and had medals struck by him, *Divæ Philippinæ*, in honour of her, when (at Inspruck in 1580) he became a widower.—Conv. Lexicon, § *Welser*.

† There seems to be some controversy about the precedence here: Bouterwek gives Vienna, with a date 1333, as the earliest; Koch again puts Heidelberg, 1346, in front; the dates in the Text profess to be taken from Meiner's *Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwickelung der Hohen Schulen unsers Erdtheils*, (History of the Origin and Development of High Schools in Europe,) Göttingen, 1802. The last established University is that of München (Munich), in 1826. Prussia alone has 21,000 Public Schoolmasters, specially trained to their profession, sometimes even sent to travel for improvement, at the cost of Government. What says "the most enlightened nation in the world" to this?—Eats its pudding, and says little or nothing.

cerns the practical Arts. Apart from Universities and learned show, there has dwelt, in those same Nürnbergs and Augsburgs, a solid, quietly-perseverant spirit, full of old Teutonic character and old Teutonic sense; whereby, ever and anon, from under the bonnet of some rugged German Artisan or staid Burgher, this and the other world's Invention has been starting forth, where such was least of all looked for. Indeed, with regard to practical Knowledge in general, if we consider the present history and daily life of mankind, it must be owned that while each nation has contributed a share,—the largest share, at least of such shares as can be appropriated and fixed on any special contributor, belongs to Germany. Copernic, Hevel, Kepler, Otto Guericke, are of other times; but in this era also the spirit of Inquiry, of Invention, was especially busy. Gunpowder (of the thirteenth century), though Milton gives the credit of it to Satan, has helped mightily to lessen the horrors of war: thus much at least must be admitted in its favour, that it secures the dominion of civilized over savage man: nay, hereby, in personal contests, not brute Strength, but Courage and ingenuity, can avail; for the Dwarf and the Giant are alike strong with pistols between them. Neither can Valour now find its best arena in War, in Battle, which is henceforth a matter of calculation and strategy, and the soldier a chess-pawn to shoot and be shot at; whereby that noble quality may at length come to reserve itself for other more legitimate occasions, of which, in this our Life-Battle with Destiny, there are enough. And thus Gunpowder, if it spread the havoc of War, mitigates it in a still higher degree; like some Inoculation,—to which may an extirpating Vaccination one day succeed! It ought to be stated, however, that the claim of Schwarz to the original invention is dubious; to the sole invention altogether unfounded: the recipe stands, under disguise, in the writings of Roger Bacon; the article itself was previously known in the East.

Far more indisputable are the advantages of Printing: and if the story of Brother Schwarz's mortar giving fire and driving his pestle through the ceiling, in the city of Mentz, as the painful Monk and Alchymist was accidentally pounding the ingredients of our first Gunpowder, is but a fable,—that of our first Book being printed there is much better ascertained. Johann Gutenberg was a native of Mentz; and there, in company with Faust and Schöffer, appears to have completed his invention, between the years 1440 and 1449: the famous "Forty-two-line Bible" was printed there in 1455.* Of this noble art, which is like an

* As to the Dutch claim, it rests only on vague local traditions, which were never heard of publicly till their Lorenz Coster had been dead almost a hundred and fifty years; so that, out of Holland, it finds few partisans.

infinitely-intensated organ of Speech, whereby the Voice of a small transitory man may reach not only through all earthly Space, but through all earthly Time, it were needless to repeat the often-repeated praises; or speculate on the practical effects, the most momentous of which are, perhaps, but now becoming visible. On this subject of the Press, and its German origin, a far humbler remark may be in place here; namely, that Rag-paper, the material on which Printing works and lives, was also invented in Germany some hundred and fifty years before. "The oldest specimens of this article yet known to exist," says Eichhorn, "are some Documents, of the year 1318, in the Archives of the Hospital at Kaufbeuern. Breitkopf (*Vom Ursprung der Spielkarten*, On the Origin of Cards,) has demonstrated our claim to the invention; and that France and England borrowed it from Germany, and Spain from Italy."*

On the invention of Printing there followed naturally a multiplication of Books, and a new activity, which has ever since proceeded at an accelerating rate, in the business of Literature; but for the present, no change in its character or objects. Those Universities, and other Establishments and Improvements, were so many tools which the spirit of the time had devised, not for working out new paths, which was their ulterior issue, but in the meanwhile, for proceeding more commodiously on the old path. In the Prague University, it is true, whither Wickliffe's writings had found their way, a Teacher of more earnest tone had risen, in the person of John Huss, Rector there; whose Books, *Of the Six Errors*, and *Of the Church*, still more his energetic, zealously polemical Discourses to the people, were yet unexampled on the Continent. The shameful murder of this man, who lived and died as beseemed a Martyr; and the stern vengeance which his countrymen took for it, unhappily not on the Constance Cardinals, but on less offensive Bohemian Catholics, kept up during twenty years, on the Eastern Border of Germany, an agitating tumult, not only of opinion, but of action: however, the fierce, indomitable Zisca being called away, and the pusillanimous Emperor offering terms, which, indeed, he did not keep, this uproar subsided, and the national activity proceeded in its former course.

In German Literature, during those years, nothing presents itself as worthy of notice here. Chronicles were written; Class-books for the studious, edifying Homilies, in varied guise, for the busy, were compiled; a few Books of Travels make their appearance, among which, Translations from our too fabulous country-

* B. ii. s. 91.—"The first German Paper-mill we have sure account of," says Koch, "worked at Nürnberg in 1390."—vol. i. p. 35.

man, Mandeville, are perhaps the most remarkable. For the rest, Life continued to be looked at less with poetic admiration, than in a spirit of observation and comparison: not without many a protest against clerical and secular error; such, however, seldom rising into the style of grave hate and hostility, but playfully expressing themselves in satire. The old effort towards the Useful; in Literature, the old prevalence of the Didactic, especially of the Æsopic, is every where manifest. Of this Æsopic spirit, what phases it successively assumed, and its significance in these, there were much to be said. However, in place of multiplying smaller instances and aspects, let us now take up the highest; and with the best of all Apologues, *Reynard the Fox*, terminate our survey of that Fable-loving time.

The story of *Reinecke Fuchs*, or to give it the original Low-German name, *Reineke de Fos*, is, more than any other, a truly European performance: for some centuries, a universal household possession and secular Bible, read every where, in the palace and the hut; it still interests us, moreover, by its intrinsic worth, being on the whole the most poetical and meritorious production of our Western World in that kind; or perhaps of the whole World, though, in such matters, the West has generally yielded to, and learned from, the East.

Touching the origin of this Book, as often happens in like cases, there is a controversy, perplexed not only by inevitable ignorance, but also by anger and false patriotism. Into this vexed sea we have happily no call to venture; and shall merely glance for a moment, from the firm land, where all that can specially concern us in the matter stands rescued and safe. The oldest printed Edition of our actual *Reynard*, is that of Lübeck, in 1498; of which there is a copy, understood to be the only one, still extant in the Wolfenbüttel Library. This oldest Edition is in the Low-German or Saxon tongue, and appears to have been produced by Hinrek van Alkmer, who in the Preface calls himself "Schoolmaster and Tutor of that noble virtuous Prince and Lord, the Duke of Lorraine;" and says farther, that by order of this same worthy sovereign, he "sought out and rendered the present Book from Walloon and French tongue into German, to the praise and honour of God, and wholesome edification of whoso readeth therein." Which candid and business-like statement would doubtless have continued to yield entire satisfaction; had it not been that, in modern days, and while this first Lübeck Edition was still lying in its dusty recess unknown to Bibliomaniacs, another account, dated some hundred years later, and supported by a little subsequent hearsay, had been raked up: how the real Author was Nicholas Baumann, Professor at Rostock; how he had been Secretary to

the Duke of Juliers, but was driven from his service by wicked cabals; and so in revenge composed this satirical adumbration of the Juliers Court; putting on the title-page, to avoid consequences, the feigned tale of its being rendered from the French and Walloon tongue, and the feigned name of Hinrek van Alkmer, who, for the rest, was never Schoolmaster and Tutor at Lorraine, or anywhere else, but a mere man of straw, created for the nonce, out of so many Letters of the Alphabet. Hereupon excessive debate, and a learned sharp-shooting, with victory-shouts on both sides; into which we nowise enter. Some touch of human sympathy does draw us towards Hinrek, whom, if he was once a real man, with bones and sinews, stomach and provender-scrip, it is mournful to see evaporated away into mere vowels and consonants: however, beyond a kind wish, we can give him no help. In Literary History, except on this one occasion, as seems indisputable enough, he is nowhere mentioned, or hinted at.

Leaving Hinrek and Nicolaus, then, to fight out their quarrel as they may, we remark that the clearest issue of it would throw little light on the origin of *Reinecke*. The victor could at most claim to be the first German redactor of this Fable, and the happiest; whose work had superseded and obliterated all preceding ones whatsoever; but nowise to be the inventor thereof, who must be sought for in a much remoter period. There are even two printed versions of the Tale, prior in date to this of Lubeck: a Dutch one, at Delft in 1484; and one by Caxton in English, in 1481, which seems to be the earliest of all.* These two differ essentially from Hinrek's; still more so does the French *Roman du nouveau Renard*, composed "by Jacquemars Gielée at Lisle about the year 1290," which yet exists in manuscript: however, they sufficiently verify that statement, by some supposed to be feigned, of the German redactor's having "sought and rendered" his work from the Walloon and French; in which latter tongue, as we shall soon see, some shadow of it had been known and popular, long centuries before that time. For besides Gielée's work, we have a *Renard Couronné* of still earlier, a *Renard Contrefait* of somewhat later date: and Chroniclers inform us that,

* Caxton's Edition, a copy of which is in the British Museum, bears title: *Hystorye of Reynart the Foxe;* and begins thus:—"It was aboute the tyme of Pentecoste or Whytsontyde that the wodes comynly be lusty and gladsome, and the trees clad with levys and blossoms, and the grounds with herbes and flowers sweete smellyng;"—where, as in many other passages, the fact that Caxton and Alkmer had the same original before them is manifest enough. Our venerable Printer says in conclusion: "I have not added ne mynnsshed but have followed as nyghe as I can my copye whych was in dutche; and by me Willm Caxton translated in to this rude and symple englyssh in thabbey of Westminster, and fynnyshed the vi daye of Juyn the yere of our lord 1481, the 21 yere of the regne of Kynge Edward the iiijth."

at the noted Festival given by Philip the Fair, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, among the dramatic entertainments, was a whole Life of Reynard; wherein it must not surprise us that he "ended by becoming Pope, and still, under the Tiara, continued to eat poultry." Nay, curious inquirers have discovered, on the French and German borders, some vestige of the Story even in Carlovingian times, which, indeed, again makes it a German original: they will have it that a certain Reinhard, or Reineke, Duke of Lorraine, who, in the ninth century, by his craft and exhaustless stratagems worked strange mischief in that region, many times overreaching King Zwentibald himself, and at last, in his stronghold of Durfos, proving impregnable to him,—had in satirical songs of that period been celebrated as a *fox*, as *Reinhard the Fox*, and so given rise afar off to this Apologue, at least to the title of it. The name *Isegrim*, as applied to the Wolf, these same speculators deduce from an Austrian Count Isengrin, who, in those old days, had revolted against Kaiser Arnulph, and otherwise exhibited too wolfish a disposition. Certain it is, at least, that both designations were in universal use during the twelfth century; they occur, for example, in one of the two *sirventes* which our Cœur-de-Lion has left us: "ye have promised me fidelity," says he, "but ye have kept it as the Wolf did to the Fox," as *Isangrin* did to *Reinhart*.* Nay, perhaps the ancient circulation of some such Song, or Tale, among the French is best of all evinced by the fact that this same *Reinhart*, or *Renard*, is still the only word in their language for *Fox;* and thus, strangely enough, the Proper may have become an Appellative; and sly Duke Reinhart, at an era when the French tongue was first evolving itself from the rubbish of Latin and German, have insinuated his name into Natural as well as Political History.

From all which, so much at least would appear: That the Fable of *Reynard the Fox*, which in the German version we behold completed, nowise derived its completeness from the individual there named Hinrek van Alkmer, or from any other individual, or people; but rather, that being in old times universally current, it was taken up by poets and satirists of all countries; from each received some accession or improvement; and properly, has no single author. We must observe, however, that as yet it had attained no fixation or consistency; no version was decidedly preferred to every other. Caxton's and the Dutch appear, at best, but as the skeleton of what afterwards became a body; of the old Walloon version, said to have been discovered lately, we are taught to entertain a similar opinion:† in the existing French

* Flögel (iii. 31), who quotes the *Histoire Litteraire des Troubadours*, t. i. p. 63.

† See Scheller (*Reineke de Fos, To Brunswyk*, 1825) *Vorrede.*—See our last Number, page 222.

versions, which are all older, either in Gielée's, or in the others, there is even less analogy. Loosely conjoined, therefore, and only in the state of dry bones, was it that Hinrek, or Nicolaus, or some Lower-Saxon whoever he might be, found the story; and blowing on it with the breath of genius, raised it up into a consistent Fable. Many additions and some exclusions he must have made; was probably enough assisted by personal experience of a Court, whether that of Juliers or some other; perhaps also he admitted personal allusions, and doubtless many a oblique glance at existing things: and thus was produced the Low-German *Reineke de Fos*, which version, shortly after its appearance, had extinguished all the rest, and come to be, what it still is, the sole veritable representative of *Reynard*, in as much as all subsequent translations and editions have derived themselves from it.

The farther history of *Reinecke* is easily traced. In this new guise, it spread abroad over all the world, with a scarcely exampled rapidity; fixing itself also as a firm possession in most countries, where, indeed, in this character, we still find it. It was printed and rendered, innumerable times: in the original dialect alone, the last Editor has reckoned up more than twenty Editions; on one of which, for example, we find such a name as that of Heinrich Voss. It was first translated into High-German in 1545; into Latin in 1567, by Hartmann Schopper, whose smooth style and rough fortune keep him in memory with Scholars:* a new version into short German verse appeared next century; in our own times, Goethe has not disdained to re-produce it, by means of his own, in a third shape: Of Soltau's version, into literal doggrel, we have already testified. Long generations before, it had been manufactured into Prose, for the use of the people, and was sold on stalls; where still, with the needful changes in

* While engaged in this Translation, at Freiburg in Baden, he was impressed as a soldier, and carried, apparently in fetters, to Vienna, having given his work to another to finish. At Vienna he stood not long in the ranks; having fallen violently sick, and being thrown out into the streets to recover there. He says, "he was without bed, and had to seek quarters on the muddy pavement, in a Barrel." Here too, in the night, some excessively straitened individual stole from him his cloak and sabre. However, men were not all hyænas: one Josias Hufnagel, unknown to him, but to whom by his writings he was known, took him under roof, procured medical assistance, equipped him anew; so that "in the harvest season, being half-cured, he could return or rather re-crawl to Frankfort on the Mayn." There too "a Magister Johann Cuipius, Christian Egenolph's son-in-law, kindly received him," and encouraged him to finish his Translation; as accordingly he did, dedicating it to the Emperor, with doleful complaints, fruitless or not is unknown. For now poor Hartmann, no longer an Autobiographer, quite vanishes, and we can understand only that he laid his wearied back one day in a most still bed, where the blanket of the Night softly enwrapped him and all his woes. ——His Book is entitled *Opus poeticum de admirabili Fallaciâ et Astutiâ Vulpeculæ Reinekes*, &c. &c.; and in the Dedication and Preface contains all these details.

spelling, and printed on grayest paper, it tempts the speculative eye.

Thus has our old Fable, rising like some River in the remote distance, from obscure rivulets, gathered strength out of every valley out of every country, as it rolled on. It is European in two senses; for as all Europe contributed to it, so all Europe has enjoyed it. Among the Germans, *Reinecke Fuchs* was long a House-book and universal Best-companion: it has been lectured on in Universities, quoted in Imperial Council-halls; it lay on the toilette of Princesses, and was thumbed to pieces on the bench of the Artizan; we hear of grave men ranking it only next to the Bible. Neither, as we said, was its popularity confined to home; Translations ere long appeared in French, Italian, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, English:* nor was that same stall-honour, which has been reckoned the truest literary celebrity, refused it here; perhaps many a reader of these pages may, like the writer of them, recollect the hours, when, hidden from unfeeling gaze of pedagogue, he swallowed *The most pleasant and delightful History of Reynard the Fox*, like stolen waters, with a timorous joy.

So much for the outward fortunes of this remarkable Book. It comes before us with a character such as can belong only to a very few; that of being a true world's-Book, which through centuries was every where at home, the spirit of which diffused itself into all languages and all minds. These quaint Æsopic figures have painted themselves in innumerable heads; that rough, deep-lying humour has been the laughter of many generations. So that, at worst, we must regard this *Reinecke* as an ancient Idol, once worshipped, and still interesting for that circumstance, were the sculpture never so rude. We can love it, moreover, as being indigenous, wholly of our own creation: it sprang up from European sense and character, and was a faithful type and organ of these.

But independently of all extrinsic considerations, this Fable of *Reinecke* may challenge a judgment on its own merits. Cunningly constructed, and not without a true poetic life, we must admit it to be: great power of conception and invention, great pictorial

* Besides Caxton's original, of which little is known among us but the name, we have two versions: one in 1667, "with excellent Morals and Expositions," which was reprinted in 1681, and followed in 1684 by a continuation, called the *Shifts of Reynardine the son of Reynard*, of English growth; another in 1708, slightly altered from the former, explaining what appears doubtful or allegorical; "it being originally written," says the brave editor elsewhere, "by an eminent Statesman of the German Empire, to show some Men their Follies, and correct the Vices of the Times he lived in." Not only *Reynardine* but a second Appendix, *Cawood the Rook*, appears here; also there are "curious Devices, or Pictures."—Of Editions "printed for the Flying-Stationers," we say nothing.

fidelity, a warm, sunny tone of colouring, are manifest enough. It is full of broad, rustic mirth; inexhaustible in comic devices: a World-Saturnalia, where Wolves tonsured into Monks, and nigh starved by short commons, Foxes pilgriming to Rome for absolution, Cocks pleading at the judgment-bar, make strange mummery. Nor is this wild Parody of Human Life without its meaning and moral: it is an Air-pageant from Fancy's Dream-grotto, yet Wisdom lurks in it; as we gaze the vision becomes poetic and prophetic. A true Irony must have dwelt in the Poet's heart and head: here, under grotesque shadows, he gives us the saddest picture of Reality; yet for us without sadness; his figures mask themselves in uncouth, bestial vizards, and enact, gambolling; their Tragedy dissolves into sardonic grins. He has a deep, heartfelt Humour sporting with the world and its evils in kind mockery: this is the poetic *soul*, round which the outward *material* has fashioned itself into living coherence. And so, in that rude old Apologue, we have still a mirror, though now tarnished and time-worn, of true magic reality; and can discern there, in cunning reflex, some image both of our destiny and of our duty: for now, as then, "Prudence is the only virtue sure of its reward," and Cunning triumphs where Honesty is worsted; and now, as then, it is the wise man's part to know this, and cheerfully look for it, and cheerfully defy it:

"*Ut vulpis adulatio*
Here thro' his own world moveth,
Sic hominis et ratio
Most like to Reynard's proveth."*

If *Reinecke* is nowise a perfect Comic Epos, it has various features of such, and, above all, a genuine Epic spirit, which is the rarest feature.

Of the Fable, and its incidents and structure, it is perhaps superfluous to offer any sketch; to most readers the whole may be already familiar. How Noble, King of the Beasts, holding a solemn Court, one Whitsuntide, is deafened on all hands with complaints against Reineke; Hinze the Cat, Lampe the Hare, Isegrim the Wolf, with innumerable others, having suffered from his villainy, Isegrim especially, in a point which most keenly touches honour; nay, Chanticleer the Cock, (*Henning de Hane*,) amid bitterest wail, appearing even with the *corpus delicti*, the body of one of his children, whom that arch-knave has feloniously murdered with intent to eat. How his indignant Majesty there-

* "*Ut vulpis adulatio*
Nu in de werlde blikket;
Sic hominis et ratio
Gelyk dem Fos sik shikket."—Motto to *Reineke*.

upon despatches Bruin the Bear to cite the delinquent in the King's name; how Bruin, inveigled into a Honey-expedition, returns without his errand, without his ears, almost without his life; Hinze the Cat, in a subsequent expedition, faring no better. How at last Reinecke, that he may not have to stand actual siege in his fortress of Malapertus, does appear for trial, and is about to be hanged, but on the gallows-ladder makes a speech unrivalled in forensic eloquence, and saves his life; nay, having incidentally hinted at some Treasures, the hiding-place of which is well known to him, rises into high favour; is permitted to depart on that pious pilgrimage to Rome he has so much at heart, and furnished even with shoes, cut from the living hides of Isegrim and Isegrim's much-injured spouse, his worst enemies. How the Treasures not making their appearance, but only new misdeeds, he is again haled to judgment; again glozes the general ear with sweetest speeches; at length, being challenged to it, fights Isegrim in knightly tourney, and by the cunningest, though the most unchivalrous method, not to be farther specified in polite writing, carries off a complete victory; and having thus, by wager of battle, manifested his innocence, is overloaded with royal favour; created Chancellor, and Pilot to weather the Storm; and so, in universal honour and authority, reaps the fair fruit of his gifts and labours.

> "Whereby shall each to wisdom turn,
> Evil eschew, and virtue learn:
> Therefore was this same story wrote,
> That is its aim, and other not.
> This Book for little price is sold,
> But image clear of world doth hold;
> Whoso into the world would look,
> My counsel is—he buy this book.
> So endeth Reynard's Fox's story:
> God help us all to heavenly glory!"

It has been objected that the Animals in *Reinecke* are not Animals, but Men disguised; to which objection, except in so far as grounded on the necessary indubitable fact that this is an Apologue or emblematic Fable, and no Chapter of Natural History, we cannot in any considerable degree accede. Nay, that very contrast between Object and Effort, where the Passions of men develope themselves on the Interests of animals, and the whole is huddled together in chaotic mockery, is a main charm of the picture. For the rest, we should rather say, these bestial characters were moderately well sustained: the vehement, futile vociferation of Chanticleer; the hysterical promptitude, and earnest profession and protestation of poor Lampe the Hare; the thick-headed ferocity of Isegrim; the sluggish, gluttonous opacity of Bruin;

above all, the craft, the tact, and inexhaustible knavish adroitness of Reinecke himself, are in strict accuracy of costume. Often also their situations and occupations are bestial enough. What quantities of bacon and other proviant do Isegrim and Reinecke forage; Reinecke contributing the scheme—for the two were then in partnership—and Isegrim paying the shot in broken bones! What more characteristic than the fate of Bruin, when, ill-counselled, he introduces his stupid head into Rustefill's half-split log; has the wedges whisked away, and stands clutched there, as in a vice, and uselessly roaring, disappointed of honey, sure only of a beating without parallel! Not to forget the Mare, whom, addressing her by the title of Good-wife, with all politeness, Isegrim, sore-pinched with hunger, asks whether she will sell her foal: she answers, that the price is written on her hinder hoof; which document the intending purchaser, being "an Erfurt graduate," declares his full ability to read; but finds there no writing, or print, save only the print of six horsenails on his own mauled visage. And abundance of the like; sufficient to excuse our old Epos on this head, or altogether justify it. Another objection, that, namely, which points to the great, and excessive coarseness of the work, here and there, it cannot so readily turn aside; being indeed rude, old-fashioned, and homespun, apt even to draggle in the mire: neither are its occasional dulness and tediousness to be denied; but only to be set against its frequent terseness and strength, and pardoned as the product of poor humanity, from whose hands nothing, not even a *Reinecke de Fos*, comes perfect.

He who would read, and still understand this old Apologue, must apply to Goethe, whose version, for poetical use, we have found infinitely the best; like some copy of an ancient, bedimmed, half-obliterated wood-cut, but new-done on steel, on India-paper, and with all manner of graceful, yet appropriate appendages. Nevertheless, the old Low-German original has also a certain charm, and simply as the original would claim some notice. It is reckoned greatly the best performance that was ever brought out in that Dialect; interesting, moreover, in a philological point of view, especially to us English; being properly the language of our old Saxon Fatherland; and still curiously like our own, though the two, for some twelve centuries, have had no brotherly communication. One short specimen, with the most verbal translation, we shall here insert, and then have done with *Reinecke:*

"De Greving was Reinken broder's söne,
The Badger was Reinke's brother's son,
De sprak do, un was sêr köne;
He spake there, and was (sore) very (keen) bold.

He forantworde in dem Hove den Fos,
He (for-answered) defended in the Court the Fox,
De dog was sêr falsh un lôs.
That (tho') yet was very false and loose.
He sprak to deme Wulve also fôrd:
He spake to the Wolf so forth:
Here Isegrim, it is ein ôldspräken wôrd,
Master Isegrim, it is an old-spoken word,
Des fyendes mund shaffet selden frôm,
The (fiend's) enemy's mouth (shapeth) bringeth seldom advantage!
So do ji ôk by Reinken, minem ôm.
So do ye (eke) too by Reinke, mine (eme) uncle.
Were he so wol alse ji hyr to Hove,
Were he as well as ye here at Court,
Un stunde he also in des Koninge's love
And stood he so in the King's favour,
Here Isegrim, alse ji dôt,
Master Isegrim, as ye do,
It sholde ju nigt dünken gôd,
It should you not (think) seem good,
Dat ji en hyr alsus forspräken
That ye him here so forspake
Un de ôlden stükke hyr fôrräken.
And the old tricks here forth-raked.
Men dat kwerde, dat ji Reinken hävven gedân,
But the ill that ye Reinke have done,
Dat late ji al agter stan.
That let ye all (after stand) stand by.
It is nog etliken heren wol kund,
It is yet to some gentlemen well known,
Wo ji mid Reinken maken den ferbund,
How ye with Reinke made (bond) alliance,
Un wolden wären twe like gesellen:
And would be two (like) equal partners:
Dat mot ik dirren heren fortällen.
That mote I these gentlemen forth-tell.
Wente Reinke, myn ôm in wintersnôd,
Since Reinke, mine uncle, in winter's-need,
Umme Isegrim's willen, fylna was dôd.
For Isegrim's (will) sake, full-nigh was dead.
Wente it geshag dat ein kwam gefaren,
For it chanced that one came (faring) driving,
De hadde grote fishe up ener karen
Who had many fishes upon a car:
Isegrim hadde geren der fishe gehaled,
Isegrim had fain the fishes (have haled) have got,
Men he hadde nigt, darmid se wörden betaled.
But he had not wherewith they should be (betold) paid.

He bragte minen ôm in de grote nôd,
He brought mine uncle into great (*need*) *straits,*
Um sinen willen ging he liggen for dôd,
For his sake went he to (*lig*) *lie for dead,*
Regt in den wäg, un stund äventur
Right in the way, and stood (*adventure*) *chance.*
Market, worden em ôk de fishe sûr?
Mark, were him eke the fishes (*sour*) *dear-bought?*
Do jenne mid der kare gefaren kwam
When (*yonder*) *he with the car driving came*
Un minen ôm darsülvest fornem,
And mine uncle (*there-self*) *even there perceived,*
Hastigen tôg he syn swërd un snel
Hastily (*took*) *drew he his sword and* (*snell*) *quick,*
Un wolde mineme ome torrükken en fel
And would my uncle (*tatter in fell*) *tear in pieces.*
Men he rögede sik nigt klên nog grôt;
But he stirred himself not (*little nor great*) *more or less;*
Do mênde he dat he were dôd;
Then (*meaned*) *thought he that he was dead;*
He läde ön up de kar, und dayte en to fillen,
He laid him upon the car, and thought him to skin,
Dat wagede he all dorg Isegrim's willen
That risked he all through Isegrim's will!
Do he fordan begunde to faren
When he forth-on began to fare,
Wärp Reinke etlike fishe fan der karen
Cast Reinke some fishes from the car,
Isegrim fan ferne agteona kwam
Isegrim from far after came
Un derre fishe al to sik nam
And these fishes all to himself took.
Reinke sprang wedder fan der karen
Reinke sprang again from the car;
Em lüstede to nigt länger to faren
Him listed not longer to fare.
He hadde ôk gêrne der fishe begërd,
He (*had*) *would have also fain of the fishes required,*
Men Isegrim hadde se alle fortêrd.
But Isegrim had them all consumed.
He hadde geten dat he wolde barsten,
He had eaten so that he would burst,
Un moste darumme gên torn arsten.
And must thereby go to the doctor.
Do Iregrim der graden nigt en mogte,
As Iregrim the fish-bones not liked,
Der sülven he em ein weinig brogte.
Of these same he him a little brought."

Whereby it would appear, if we are to believe Grimbart the

Badger, that Reinecke was not only the cheater in this case, but also the cheatee: however, he makes matters straight again in that other noted fish-expedition, where Isegrim minded not to steal but to catch fish, and having no fishing-tackle, by Reinecke's advice, inserts his tail into the lake, in winter-season; but before the promised string of trouts, all hooked to one another and to him, will bite, is frozen in, and left there to his own bitter meditations.

We here take leave of *Reinecke de Fos*, and of the whole Æsopic genus, of which it is almost the last, and by far the most remarkable example. The Age of Apologue, like that of Chivalry and Love-singing, is gone; for nothing in this Earth has continuance. If we ask, where are now our People's-Books? the answer might give room for reflexions. Hinrek van Alkmer has passed away, and Dr. Birkbeck has risen in his room. What good and evil lie in that little sentence!—But doubtless the day is coming when what is wanting here will be supplied; when as the Logical, so likewise the Poetical susceptibility and faculty of the people; their Fancy, Humour, Imagination, wherein lie the main elements of spiritual life,—will no longer be left uncultivated, barren, or bearing only spontaneous thistles, but in new and finer harmony, with an improved Understanding, will flourish in new vigour; and in our inward world there will again be a sunny Firmament and verdant Earth, as well as a Pantry and culinary Fire; and men will learn not only to recapitulate and compute, but to worship, to love; in tears or in laughter, hold mystical as well as logical communion with the high and the low of this wondrous Universe; and read, as they should live, with their whole being. Of which glorious consummation there is at all times, seeing these endowments are indestructible, nay, essentially supreme in man, the firmest ulterior certainty, but, for the present, only faint prospects and far-off indications. Time brings Roses!

ART. V.—*Notice sur la vie politique, et les travaux parlementaires de M. George Canning, extraite de la Biographie Universelle des Contemporains; et suivie de réflexions sur son système politique.* Par Alph. Rabbe. Paris: Janvier, 1827. 8vo.

THIS little work, published in the last year of Mr. Canning's life, furnishes our neighbours with an inaccurate account of that distinguished man. The time, indeed, is not come, when a history of that life can be written, at once fully and impartially. The difficulty which attaches to the biography of any statesman recently deceased, is, in the case of Mr. Canning, much aggra-

vated by the peculiar occurrences of his latter years, and more especially of the year in which he died; occurrences which have made the party feeling, incident to such occasions, as complicated as it is intense; and have interested in his posthumous fame many who, up to the last few months of his existence, were his strongest opponents. A curious train of events had placed him in a new, and as it appears to us, a false position. Under this impression, and with nothing before us but the meagre history of M. Rabbe, we shrink from an attempt at systematic biography. We take, however, this opportunity of correcting some grievous errors into which the French author has fallen; and also of continuing, through Mr. Canning's administration of the Foreign Office, the examination of the disputed points in the Foreign Policy of England, which was commenced in our last number. And here we may derive much assistance from an English work, published in the present year, professing to narrate "The Political Life of Mr. Canning, from his acceptance of the Seals of the Foreign Department in September, 1822, to the period of his death in August, 1827."

But it appears to us that there never was a public man whose private sentiments had a more active influence upon his public conduct; that there never was a statesman whose personal and political history were more intimately blended; and we therefore gladly seize the opportunity, which M. Rabbe's work affords us, of going back to an earlier period of Mr. Canning's life for an elucidation of his political system: we wish much that the materials in our possession, or our own information, allowed us to describe more minutely one of the most remarkable, as well as eminent characters of the age.

Mr. Canning attained distinction at a very early period of life; at Eton, and at Christ Church, he was not only distinguished, as many youths have been distinguished, for proficiency in scholastic exercises; he acquired and maintained a superiority in intellectual power, which made him, as an under-graduate, an object of curiosity and interest. There are now living eminent men in the learned professions, who call to mind the first opportunity of becoming acquainted with even the person of Mr. Canning, as a memorable incident of their academical residence.

It is well known, that his character at the University occasioned his introduction to Mr. Pitt, and procured him a seat in the House of Commons.* We have never seen in print an anecdote, which we know to be as authentic as it is characteristic, concern-

* M. Rabbe states him to have been introduced into the House of Commons by the influence of Mr. Sheridan, and to have been afterwards noticed by Mr. Pitt. In this, as in other instances, we shall state the fact correctly, without always noticing the mistakes of the French writer.

ing his first seat in parliament. He expressed, in answer to the overture made to him, his readiness to become a supporter of Mr. Pitt; but he stipulated, that the matter should be arranged between the minister and himself, without the intervention of the secretary of the Treasury; and that he should not become the nominee of any great lord, or borough proprietor, who might possibly claim a right to influence his vote.

He entered the House of Commons in the second year of the French war, and soon became eminent among the advocates of vigorous opposition to the principles of the Revolution.

Clever mal-contents in this country were struck with his talents, without understanding his principles; and it is a remarkable fact, which we state upon good authority, that one of these gentlemen (a well-known person now living) proposed to Mr. Canning, then a very young man, professing to study the law in the Temple, to put himself at the head of a revolutionary party. He was, they thought, exactly the man whom they wanted; and so indeed he was, if his attachment to the constitution of his country, and his sense of the practical benefits derived from it, had not, in the spring, as in the autumn of his life, secured his great powers on the side of the constitution.

It is remarkable that in his maiden speech,* occasional as it necessarily was, Mr. Canning expressed sentiments in exact conformity with those to which we have elsewhere pointed as the leading and laudable opinions of his after life. After insinuating an opinion very conformable to that which we have adopted,† as to "the old balance of power," he speaks of those who charged the English government with a hatred of freedom, because they made war against France after having made no opposition to the partitioners of Poland. The few words of allusion, by the rising politician of 1794, to this plausible but flimsy charge, are referrible to that same notion of the duty of an English minister, which was enunciated by the accomplished statesman of 1823.

"The authors of this assertion affect to disregard, or disdain to consider the comparative distance of France or Poland—the relative importance of the two countries to us—the strength of the confederacy by which the latter was oppressed—and every other circumstance which should guide the discretion, or regulate the conduct of every sober politician."‡

In the spring of 1796 Mr. Canning became under-secretary to Lord Grenville, who had the department of Foreign Affairs; and we believe that we may truly assert that he was the prin-

* 31 Jan. 1794. Parl. Hist. xxx. 1317. Canning's Speeches, i. 4.
† pp. 51—55, *ante*. ‡ Sp. i. 13.

cipal author of the celebrated answer,* issued in the December of that year, to the Spanish declaration of war. Seldom, probably, had so young a man, a secretary so recently appointed, such a share in a state paper of this importance. Those who have studied Mr. Canning's writings, will find no difficulty in recognising many passages, and even particular expressions,† which could scarcely come from any other hand. During the remainder of the first revolutionary war, Mr. Canning (who was in 1799 promoted to the Army Pay Office, with the rank of Privy Councillor) was the continued supporter of vigorous war. On December 11, 1798,‡ he made a speech on the state of the nation, which may be numbered among his most splendid efforts; but we are more particularly desirous of pointing to his speech in the famous debate on Bonaparte's letter, 3d February, 1800,§ when he delivered sentiments in reference to the degree and nature of our connection with the Bourbons, strikingly illustrative of the view which we have taken. We can give but a short extract:—

"If we could bring the royalists through by the same efforts by which we were working for our own advantage, surely it was highly useful, and honourable, and humane, to do so; but we were not pledged to persevere beyond what we thought prudent on our own account; we might withdraw at any time when our own objects were accomplished, or when we saw that they were unattainable without greater risk than it appeared to us advisable to incur; and we might withdraw without reproach, and without dishonesty."‖

After the dissolution of Mr. Pitt's ministry in 1801, Mr. Canning was in some degree separated from him—partly through his more decided hostility to the government of Mr. Addington, and partly through his connection with some of those who composed what was called the War Party. This difference occasioned his keeping aloof on occasions when he would naturally have been found in debate. During the last administration of Mr. Pitt, he still held only a secondary office, that of Treasurer of the Navy, having refused to succeed Mr. Windham as Secretary at War, unless he might also succeed him in the cabinet. Towards the close of 1805 it was in contemplation to give him a seat in the cabinet, to which his station in the House of Commons decidedly

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* Parl. Hist. xxxii. 1289.

† There is one remarkable expression, "she has been compelled to act in a quarrel, and *for interests not her own*," (1296,) which is to be found in the declaration against Russia, Dec. 18, 1807,—"attempts to disguise the operation of that external influence by which Russia is driven into unjust hostilities *for interests not her own*."—Parl. Deb. x. 124.

‡ Parl. Hist. xxxiv. 33. Speeches, i. 49.

§ Parl. Hist. xxxiv. 1261. Speeches, i. 238. ‖ Id. i. 258.

entitled him, but Mr. Pitt's death dissolved the government. During the short administration of "The Talents," Mr. Canning, who from this time acknowledged no leader,* greatly distinguished himself in opposition, especially upon foreign affairs; and at the formation of the Duke of Portland's administration, in April, 1807, he became Secretary of State in the department in which he had been bred. At this period England was at war with most of the powers of Europe, and the business of a secretary of state was very different in its nature from that which appertains to the office during peace. No transaction occurred from which any illustration can be drawn of Mr. Canning's policy in reference to points recently in dispute. His great object was, as it had always been, determined opposition to France, and a vigorous prosecution of the war. It was during this period that the Spaniards commenced that resistance to Bonaparte, which, through the aid of England, became afterwards so successful; and Mr. Canning often boasted of the honour which had been his, in signing the first treaty of restored peace and co-operation with Spain. He had occasion to issue several state papers, which were universally and justly admired.

Lord Castlereagh held at this period the seals of the War Department. For some time everything went on well; the ministry were eminently popular and successful; but some public reverses occurred, and then sprang up the differences and jealousies between the two secretaries of state, of which we are quite unable to state the nature and origin. They are indeed, in themselves, foreign to our purpose, but they have a bearing upon the topics of present discussion, in as much as they were the original causes of the contention which we are endeavouring to mitigate. We believe that one point of difference related to the continuance and re-inforcement of the British troops in Portugal after the Battle of Corunna; and to some question as to the supersession of a commander of those forces. For our present object, however, it is enough, that there was no question in any degree corresponding with those which have given rise to what may be styled the post-humous controversy in which we are now engaged.

It is well known that these differences led to the resignation of Mr. Canning as well as of Lord Castlereagh; nor did the former return to the cabinet during the further continuance of the war.

* Of all the misrepresentations of M. Rabbe, none is more injurious or unjust than the imputation against Mr. Canning, (p. 15,) of being "a sort of political adventurer, marching sometimes under the banner of one chief, sometimes under that of another." In another place (p. 14) Mr. Canning is described as having attached himself in 1809 to Lord Wellesley! Lord W. succeeded him (Lord Bathurst being only his locum tenens while he was abroad) in the Foreign Office.

On all points, however, connected with its vigorous prosecution, he gave his active support to the governments of Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool.* In no one of the impassioned and animating harangues, in which he exhorted the House to persevere in the mighty struggle, did any symptom appear of difference with the ministry, in which Lord Castlereagh now held the Foreign Department, as to the principles or object of the contest. In one beautiful passage, of the effect of which upon an attentive House the writer of this article has still a lively recollection, Mr. Canning marked the entire accordance of his feelings with those under which he had, in early life, illustrated the system of Mr. Pitt.

"The Spanish revolution," he said, in supporting the vote of thanks to Lord Wellington for the Battle of Vittoria, "exhibiting the same splendid successes as those which marked the early career of that of France, has proved that triumph is not unachievable by those who are attached to the sovereignty, and whose principle is to conserve rather than to destroy. It is not to Spain alone that the effects of the late victory will be confined. Spain has been the theatre of Lord Wellington's glory; but it will not be the boundary of the beneficial result of his triumph. The same blow which has broken the talisman of the French power in Spain has disenchanted the North. How is our prospect changed! In those countries, where at most a short struggle had been terminated by a result disastrous to our wishes, if not altogether closing in despair, we have now to contemplate a very different aspect of affairs. Germany crouches no longer, trembling at the feet of the tyrant, but maintains a balanced contest. *The mighty deluge, by which the continent has been overwhelmed, begins to subside. The limits of nations are again visible, and the spires and turrets of ancient establishments begin to reappear above the subsiding wave.*"†

He made but one other speech previously to the peace and to his departure from England. In that speech,‡ delivered after the success of the war had, in Mr. Canning's own opinion, been accomplished, he re-asserted as its object, "undaunted, persevering resistance to the overwhelming power of France." Not a word was uttered, or a notion hinted, of any new or more extensive principle of universal freedom. For candour, and as containing his parting words, we give the conclusion of this speech; but we affirm that, looking at the context, and at the whole tenour of the speeches of which it is a peroration, and above all, to the course of transactions which were now completed, the most ingenious perverter cannot doubt but that, in the concluding prayer, Mr. Canning contemplated foreign oppression,

* See his three speeches, June 15, 1810; July 7, and November 17, 1813.—Speeches, i. 419. 424. Parl. Deb. xvii. 715, xxvi. 1141, and xxvii. 144.

† Speeches, iii. 422. ‡ November 17, 1813.

not domestic tyranny.* He was a friend of good government;—what honest man is not? But internal constitutions were not on this particular occasion uppermost in his thoughts.

"I ardently hope that the result will be a general pacification, in which the interests of the civilized world will be duly consulted: if it should be necessary to continue hostilities, may we contend, as we have fought during the last campaign, with matchless strength arising from the firmness of the indissoluble union of the allies whose cause is, and whose exertions ought to be one. May Great Britain still maintain that dignity of station, and support that grandeur and liberality of design, upon which she has hitherto acted! May she continue the unoppressive guardian of the liberties that she has vindicated, and the disinterested protectoress of the liberties she has bestowed!"

In July, 1814, soon after the peace of Paris, Mr. Canning's friends accepted office under Lord Liverpool's government, and he himself accepted the embassy to Lisbon; in June, 1816, about twelve months after the treaties of Vienna had been promulgated, he returned to England as a member of the Cabinet, and President of the India Board. But he did not resume his seat in the House of Commons, (which was vacated by his appointment,) until February, 1817; and had therefore no part in the discussions which occurred, concerning the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna.

It cannot be said, that in thus uniting himself with the government, Mr. Canning made himself responsible for all their former acts, or necessarily expressed an approbation of them. At the same time, it may be observed, that the most important and the most recent measures of the Cabinet which Mr. Canning now joined, appertained to foreign policy: they had been conducted by Lord Castlereagh, with more than departmental powers. Of arrangements so complicated and extensive, it is more than probable that Mr. Canning disapproved of some of the details; so, without inconsistency, might even their responsible authors. But nothing but a distinct assurance, by Mr. Canning himself, could induce us to believe that he disapproved generally and strongly of the principles on which England and her allies had proceeded; or of the mode in which the Foreign Secretary had carried them into effect.

The concurrence of opinion, which was fairly to be inferred from his junction with his new colleagues, was distinctly avowed by Mr. Canning, when his acceptance of the Lisbon embassy was made the subject of a motion in the House of Commons:† and it is to be remembered, that the allegation of a fundamental

* See Stapleton, i. 8. † Speeches, iii. 485, 486. Parl. Deb. xxxiv. 190.

difference of policy between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning includes a charge of inconsistency against Lord Liverpool, who co-operated with both. He approved cordially, as Mr. Stapleton says, of the policy of Mr. Canning. Who has the right to say that he did not approve of the policy of Lord Castlereagh?

Mr. Canning's ideas were definite, and his language precise; it cannot have been by him, but by his thoughtless biographer, that Lord Castlereagh was accused, without evidence or explanation, of "throwing away at Vienna, the advantages obtained at Salamanca or Vittoria."*

If the arrangements had consisted in a mere treaty of peace, and oblivion of grievances past, a minister, however much he disapproved of them, might have united with men with whom he otherwise concurred. But the stipulations of 1815 were prospective. They involved the occupation, for a time not precisely defined, of the territory of France herself, and much remained to be done in reference to continental affairs, which required continued intercourse and discussion with the great powers of Europe.

To those treaties of 1818, the result of this discussion, which are supposed to have involved us in the Holy Alliance, and which did connect us intimately with its members,—to that quintuple alliance, which, according to Lord John Russell, implied a guaranty of the Bourbon dynasty, and of all the schemes of Metternich,—Mr. Canning, as a member of the cabinet, was necessarily a party. He was a party also to the Foreign Enlistment Bill, and the Alien Bill, both which measures he supported by his eloquence, and to all the measures of the government from June, 1816, to June, 1820, when, for reasons totally unconnected with foreign politics, he ceased to attend the cabinet, which he finally quitted in the December following.

Let it not be supposed, that while we defend Mr. Canning from the charge, injudiciously insinuated by Mr. Stapleton, of having participated in measures which he disapproved, and made himself responsible for acts which he detested, we affirm that he entered cordially, and with perfect approbation, into all the proceedings of his colleagues. We know the contrary. We know that he was dissatisfied with the growing intimacy between Lord Castlereagh and some of the continental ministers; that he became averse to congresses and meetings of sovereigns. And it is within our own knowledge, that his indisposition to the proceedings of the allies extended to their *forms*, and created in him an almost morbid antipathy to *protocols*.

For some time before he quitted office, he was uneasy at the state of foreign affairs. The management of Lord Castlereagh,

* Stapleton, i. 292.

and the courteous deference which he paid to the allied sovereigns, did not entirely suit his temperament; and, conscious of his own powers, he thought that he could have pursued the interests of England, with equal effect and more dignity, by measures of a different style.

But there is not a tittle of evidence, nor a shadow of probability, that during this period there arose any question in Lord Liverpool's cabinet, as to the institutions of foreign countries, or the principle of interference with their internal affairs; or that a difference existed on any great matter of policy. Such difference, if resolved in favour of an opponent, would have driven the high-minded and sensitive minister from the government. Unquestionably the ordinary feelings of human nature occasioned a little jealousy of the man, who had filled in such eventful times the office which he had once occupied; but this feeling did not prevent an occasional co-operation with Lord Castlereagh in the administration of the foreign office. We know that when almost all the colleagues of Mr. Canning, addressed to him valedictory letters, on his resignation, Lord Castlereagh expressed the particular effect which the separation had on him, who thus lost Mr. Canning's "assistance in the foreign office." It would not be fair to tell this without relating the whole fact. Lord Castlereagh's communication was tardy, and did not arrive until an observation to that effect from Mr. Canning had reached Lord Castlereagh through a common friend. But the feeling in Mr. Canning that it ought to come, and its own tenor, equally negative the supposition, that there was any radical difference of opinion between the two men, and more especially on foreign affairs.

Mr. Stapleton conjectures, with great appearance of probability, that Mr. Canning was the actual framer of the confidential minute on the affairs of Spain, issued in May, 1820.* That he had a part in it we have no doubt, though we recognise some expressions much more in the style of Lord Castlereagh. At all events, it spoke the sentiments of the whole cabinet, and furnishes the most pregnant proof of co-operation between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, in disclaiming the repressive schemes of the Holy Alliance.

We have referred, in our former article, to another celebrated circular, issued by Lord Castlereagh, on the affairs of Naples, and afterwards adopted by Mr. Canning, as the state paper in which were to be found the principles which he inherited from his predecessor, and determined to pursue.† Mr. Stapleton‡

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* Stapleton, i. 141. Parl. Deb. viii. and see p. 56, *ante*.

† See his speech, cited p. 60, *ante*. ‡ i. 299.

conceives that the state paper thus adopted by Mr. Canning, was the minute of May, 1820. The following considerations connect, beyond all doubt, Mr. Canning's declaration with the *Naples* circular.

1. Mr. Canning, speaking on the 24th February, 1823, refers to a paper which he found in his office. He would hardly have referred to a paper, as one which he found on entering office, for which he was himself responsible; still less, if, as Mr. Stapleton conjectures, he had been mainly concerned in its composition.

2. Mr. Canning, in laying before the House, on the 14th of April, 1823, the negotiations with France and Spain, refers to the same paper as being "in the records of the country," (i. e. before parliament,) as well as in those of his office, "and known to all the world."* The Naples circular had been laid before the House in 1821;† that of May, 1820, was not produced until the 21st of April, 1823, after the second allusion to the paper in question had been made. The description therefore given of the paper was inapplicable to this of May, 1820, which was not only not before the House, or the world, when Mr. Canning took the seals, but was not included among the papers now produced in explanation of his conduct.

3. Both Lord Liverpool‡ and Mr. Peel,§ (representing the government in Mr. Canning's absence,) also referred, on the first day of this same session of 1823, to the Naples circular, for an exposition of the principles of the government. Lord Liverpool distinctly referred to it for the principles, which, in the words of the King's speech, written without doubt by Mr. Canning, "his Majesty had promulgated to the world."

We do not bring this evidence simply to justify the accuracy of our former statement; it is of importance to the questions at issue. For it is in this Naples circular, that Mr. Stapleton‖ finds a clause indicative of that objectionable principle in Lord Castlereagh, which, according to him, Mr. Canning was strenuous in opposing. There was "a saving clause of justification for Austria, in her meditated attack on Naples;" and "Lord Castlereagh took pains to make an exception in favour of the sovereigns, in the only instance in which a practical application was about to be made of them." Mr. Canning, so far from authorizing this criticism on the paper, speaks of it as "laying down the principle of non-interference, *with all the qualifications pro-*

* Speeches, v. 5. Parl. Deb. viii. 874.
† iv. 283.
‡ Parl. Debates, viii. 30.
§ p. 66.
‖ i. pp. 42 & 43.

perly belonging to it.... The principle of non-interference with the independence of foreign states, was laid down in that document *as broadly, clearly and definitively, as it was possible for any statesman to wish to lay it down.*"*

The criticisms then of Mr. Stapleton, heedless and unfair as applied to the paper of Lord Castlereagh, are most unfortunate when extended to a document to which Mr. Canning "appealed with fond pertinacity."† Only one word more upon this famous circular. In his eagerness to condemn, Mr. Stapleton scolds Lord Castlereagh because the Allies put forth in it some "doctrines in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws of Great Britain:"‡ —a curious charge this, against the minister who mentioned these doctrines only to condemn them! How stands the case? The principles of the Naples circular involve the interference of one government in the internal affairs of another; England is invited to maintain these principles: Lord Castlereagh, among other reasons for rejecting them, urges that their application to England would be inconsistent with her constitutional laws;—and he is then reproached as a supporter of those objectionable principles!

We have now made out this position:—That Mr. Canning came into office in 1822, not only without any avowed disapprobation of the policy of Lord Castlereagh and intention to change it, but with a decided and unequivocal recognition of it, as the principle of his own administration. And having this ample recognition, we do not think it necessary to advert to the minor instances of sarcasm and sneer against Lord Castlereagh and his policy, with which Mr. Stapleton, with questionable taste, has interlarded his eulogy upon Mr. Canning.

The truth is, that exclusiveness always was, and still is, the besetting fault of Mr. Canning's friends. He was a great, an admirable, and an amiable man. He had fine qualities and splendid accomplishments. He did not inspire more of public admiration than of private affection. Nor is it matter either of surprise or blame, that those who enjoyed his confidence, and witnessed the daily exercise of his talents, should be tenderly jealous of his reputation.

His rivalry with Lord Castlereagh was an unavoidable occurrence. It might have existed without bitterness, if the two characters which produced it had been left to the workings of their own greatness. Perhaps the friends of both were blameable; but we are sure that the work of Mr. Stapleton is an instance of

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* Speeches, vol. v. 6. Parl. Deb. viii. 874.
† Stapleton, vol. i. 301. ‡ Vol. i. 60.

great indiscretion in those attached to Mr. Canning. He had been, even from school, the hero of a set—of a set, not of grovelling parasites, but of accomplished and independent men; some of them, in particular attainments, almost qualified to dispute his superiority. From the Smiths, and the Sturgeses, and the Ellises, and the Freres, flattery might be offered without degradation, and accepted without shame. These persons persuaded themselves, and took pains to persuade Mr. Canning, that he was not merely the fittest, but the only man in England fit to govern it. Not only his opinions, acute and philosophical as they were, became the standard of right; his peculiarities and his very foibles were made the measure of propriety. Great as were the qualities of Lord Castlereagh, they unquestionably differed much in their nature from those of Mr. Canning. The powers of both were efficacious and successful. Each had some advantage which the other wanted; and either might have administered affairs, in the same crisis, with equal success, by means apparently opposite. To this truth, partiality blinded the friends of Mr. Canning. Partiality is amiable while it only exaggerates the merit of the patron; but it too often depreciates the rival: the degradation of him who is to be debased, is often more zealously pursued than the exaltation of him who is to be honoured.

These remarks are strikingly applicable to the account of Mr. Canning's proceedings by his confidential secretary. We respect the talents of Mr. Stapleton, and admire his fidelity; but we are confident that his is one of the many cases in which an amiable and praiseworthy attachment has led to misrepresentation and unfairness; so much as to require a suspicious perusal of a work, for which the character of its author, and its illustrious subject, might otherwise have claimed implicit confidence.

We will now proceed to the policy of Mr. Canning; and taking, as a convenient index to our narrative, this work of Mr. Stapleton, we meet at once with a pregnant indication of one strange accident in the life of Mr. Canning, which communicates another taint to all histories of his policy, of which they must be discharged before the truth can be attained.

Mr. Canning had been, all his life, the distinguished opponent of the Whigs, and more especially of the friends of Parliamentary Reform. There was nothing for which he was more distinguished than his contemptuous rejection of all suggestions for ascribing to the British Constitution, a basis in the abstract principle of representation. When called upon, shortly before his death, to form an administration, he slowly, unwillingly, and after

attempting every Tory whom he could find, admitted some eminent Whigs* into his cabinet. In this measure there was, on his part, no inconsistency or dereliction of principle; for (with one solitary exception in favour of an almost exhausted man,) he obtained from each and all of them a pledge, that they would not only not support, but would manfully oppose all Whig measures, and more particularly, Reform. But now that there is no longer the voice of Mr. Canning to remind them of the terms on which they joined him, these same Whigs have the hardihood to pretend that it was *he* who had changed! Having not only been opposed to him for years, in all matters connected with domestic liberty and the national constitution, but having charged upon him, on the only occasions on which it came into discussion, all the vices of the Holy Alliance, they all at once pretended to consider him as the champion of universal freedom, the redresser of all national wrongs!

Deprived, as they were subsequently, of the support of many Tory friends, the adherents of Mr. Canning, clinging closely to the Whigs, have so far given in to this strange delusion, that the secretary is found to commence an exposition of his policy, with a reference to the principle "That the people are the origin of power,"† as the first principle of the British Constitution. We shall not be led by Mr. Stapleton into any discussion of this barren theory; he will find enough in the speeches, and, we doubt not, recollect enough in the conversations of Mr. Canning. We mention the passage only as a proof of that newly created bias which derogates from the value of the narrative of Mr. Stapleton. This preference of the favourite doctrines of the Whigs, combined with the jealousy of Lord Castlereagh, in which their recollection of his triumphs caused them to partake, pervades every line, and perverts almost every sentiment of the work.

But we proceed. According to Mr. Stapleton the principle of Mr. Canning, on his accession to the Foreign Office, was this—

"The object to be sought was the prevention of popular tumults on the one hand, and of arbitrary and oppressive conduct on the other."‡.... "The dissolution of the Alliance was to be effected gradually, by the withdrawal from it of the countenance of England; and the balance was to be held—'not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles'—giving the preference to neither, but *aiding rather the liberal side, because the anti-liberals were then the strongest.*"§

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* Some of the most eminent, however, were unconcerned in this junction; neither Lord Grey, Lord Althorp, nor Lord John Russell, took office in Mr. Canning's government, or expressed themselves satisfied with its formation. On the 10th of May, 1827, Lord Grey made a severe attack upon the new minister.—Parl. Deb. xvii. 720.

† Vol. i. 132. ‡ Vol. i. 133. § Vol. i. 135.

We have already proved that the countenance of England had already been withdrawn, by Lord Castlereagh, in a mode and in terms approved and adopted by Mr. Canning, from all schemes of the Holy Alliance tending to the repression of liberty and independence. So far, therefore, this representation of Mr. Canning's policy implies no difference with his predecessor. But Mr. Stapleton pushes Mr. Canning's plans a little further;—how justly, let us now see.

The words which refer to *conflicting principles* are quoted from the elaborate and statesman-like oration,* wherein Mr. Canning explained the views of his government with reference to the French invasion of Spain. But let it not be supposed that the passage following them was also abridged from the same speech, or warranted by any contemporaneous declaration by Mr. Canning. They are the words of Mr. Stapleton.

In an early part of this speech, Mr. Canning reproved certain members of parliament, who were for addressing our allies as "tyrants and despots, tramplers on the rights and liberties of mankind." He

"doubted whether these sallies of raillery, these *flowers of Billingsgate*, are calculated to soothe, rather to adorn."... "*We differ widely from our continental allies on one great principle, it is true; nor do we, nor ought we to disguise that difference, nor to omit any opportunity of practically upholding our own opinion.*" "But... we should argue our differences of opinion, however freely, with temper, and enforce them, however firmly, without insult."

After deprecating the war, to which Mr. Hobhouse and the ultra-liberals had excited him, Mr. Canning proceeded thus:—

"For the confirmation of these observations," (on the undesirableness of war) "I appeal to that which I have stated as the last of the considerations in reference to which the policy of the British government was calculated—I mean, to the present state of the world. *No man can witness with more delight than I do the widening diffusion of political liberty.* Acknowledging all the blessings which we have long derived from liberty ourselves, *I do not grudge to others a participation in them.* I would not prohibit other nations from kindling their torches at the flame of British freedom. But let us not deceive ourselves. *The general acquisition of free institutions is not necessarily a security for general peace. I am obliged to confess that its immediate tendency is the other way.* Take an example from France itself. The Representative Chamber of France has undoubtedly been the source of those hostilities, which I should not have despaired of seeing averted through the pacific disposition of the French King. Look at the democracies of the ancient world. Their

* On Mr. Macdonald's motion, April 30, 1823.—Speeches, v. 54. Parl. Deb. viii. 1478.

existence, I may say, was in war. Look at the petty republics of Italy in more modern times. In truth, long intervals of profound peace are much more readily to be found under settlements of a monarchical form. Did the republic of Rome, in the whole career of her existence, enjoy an interval of peace of as long duration as that which this country enjoyed under the administration of Sir Robert Walpole?—and that interval, be it remembered, was broken short through the instigation of popular feeling. I am not saying that this is right or wrong—but that it is so: it is in the very nature of free governments, and more especially, perhaps, of governments newly free. The principle which for centuries has given ascendancy to Great Britain, is that she was the single free state in Europe. The spread of the representative system destroys that singularity, and must (however little we may like it) proportionably enfeeble our preponderating influence, unless we measure our steps cautiously, and accommodate our conduct to the times. *Let it not be supposed that I would disparage the progress of freedom*, that I wish checks to be applied to it, or that I am pleased at the sight of obstacles thrown in its way. Far, very far from it. I am only desiring it to be observed, that we cannot expect to enjoy, at the same time, incompatible advantages. Freedom must ever be the greatest of blessings; but it ceases to be a distinction, in proportion as other nations become free.

"But, Sir, this is only a partial view of the subject; and one to which I have been led by the unreasonable expectations of those who, while they make loud complaints of the diplomacy of England as less commanding than heretofore, unconsciously specify the very causes which necessarily diminish and counteract its efficacy.

"There are, however, other considerations, to which I beg leave to turn the attention of the House.

"*It is perfectly true*, as has been argued by more than one honourable member in this debate, *that there is a contest going on in the world between the spirit of unlimited monarchy and the spirit of unlimited democracy*. Between these two spirits, it may be said that strife is either openly in action, or covertly at work, throughout the greater portion of Europe. It is true, as has also been argued, that in no former period in history is there so close a resemblance to the present, as in that of the Reformation. So far my honourable and learned friend (Sir J. Mackintosh) and the honourable baronet (Sir F. Burdett) were justified in holding up Queen Elizabeth's reign as an example for our study. *The honourable member for Westminster, too, has observed, that in imitation of Queen Elizabeth's policy, the proper place for this country, in the present state of the world, is at the head of free nations struggling against arbitrary power*. Sir, undoubtedly there is, as I have admitted, a general resemblance between the two periods; forasmuch as in both we see a conflict of opinions, and in both a bond of union growing out of those opinions, which establishes, between parts and classes of different nations, a stricter communion than belongs to community of country. It is true—it is, I own I think, a formidable truth—that in this respect the two periods do resemble each other. But though there is this general similarity, there is one circumstance which mainly distinguishes

the present time from the reign of Elizabeth; and which, though by no means unimportant in itself, has been overlooked by all those to whose arguments I am now referring. *Elizabeth was herself amongst the revolters against the authority of the Church of Rome; but we are not amongst those who are engaged in a struggle against the spirit of unlimited monarchy.* We have fought that fight. We have taken our station. We have long ago assumed a character differing altogether from that of those around us. *It may have been the duty and the interest of Queen Elizabeth to make common cause with—to put herself at the head of—those who supported the Reformation: but can it be either our interest or our duty to ally ourselves with revolution? Let us be ready to afford refuge to the sufferers of either extreme party; but it is not surely our policy to become the associate of either.* Our situation now is rather what that of Elizabeth *would have been*, if the Church of England had been, in her time, already completely established in uncontested supremacy; acknowledged as a legitimate settlement, unassailed and unassailable by papal power. Does my honourable and learned friend believe that the policy of Elizabeth would in that case have been the same?

"Now, our complex constitution is established with so happy a mixture of its elements—its tempered monarchy and its regulated freedom—that we have nothing to fear from foreign despotism; nothing at home but from capricious change. *We have nothing to fear, unless, distasteful of the blessings which we have earned, and of the calm which we enjoy, we let loose again, with rash hand, the elements of our constitution, and set them once more to fight against each other.* In this enviable situation, what have we in common with the struggles which are going on in other countries, for the attainment of objects of which we have been long in undisputed possession? We look down upon those struggles from the point to which we have happily attained, not with the cruel delight which is described by the poet, as arising from the contemplation of agitations in which the spectator is not exposed to share; but with an anxious desire to mitigate, to enlighten, to reconcile, to save—by our example in all cases—by our exertions where we can usefully interpose.

"*Our station, then, is essentially neutral; neutral not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles. The object of the Government has been to preserve that station; and for the purpose of preserving it, to maintain peace.*"*

For the length of this quotation, our apology must be, first, in

* Speeches, v. 124—129. Parl. Deb. viii. 1520. M. Rabbe quotes largely Mr. Canning's speeches, but not always correctly. He quotes one, apparently intended for that of 14th April, 1823, in which he makes Mr. Canning say—"*Je dois songer aussi à la position d'Angleterre:*" and again, "*Nous n'étions pas prêts à prendre une attitude plus sérieuse.*" Not either of these expressions is to be found in the speech; still less anything which justifies the way in which they are printed, which is evidently intended to imply a doubt in Mr. Canning's mind of our ability to sustain war. Not a syllable of this sort is to be found in any speech of Mr. Canning. Nor is he more correctly styled a dupe, because his hopes of a conciliatory termination of the disputes between France and Spain were disappointed. See Rabbe, pp. 29, 31, 32.

the clearness, the truth, and the wisdom of the passages cited; and, secondly, in the absolute disproof which they afford of the averment, that Mr. Canning leant, at his accession to office, to the miscalled *liberal* side of the balance. It would, perhaps, be more easy for an advocate of the other side, to draw from this speech a plausible argument for claiming Mr. Canning as his ally; because he certainly expresses more apprehension from revolutionary movements than from arbitrary power. The truth is, that in recommending neutrality and non-interference, upon those English principles which we have elsewhere praised, he necessarily laid the greater stress upon that particular danger which would spring from an adoption of the counsel tendered to him by others. But, beyond all doubt, the addition made by Mr. Stapleton to the principle enuntiated by his patron, is perfectly unwarranted. It is to be recollected that this speech was delivered by Mr. Canning at an early period of his administration of foreign affairs; and that it avowedly detailed the practical application of the principles which had been laid down by Lord Castlereagh, and had been publicly adopted as "the political creed of the ministers." Those who, in tracing the path of Mr. Canning, would ascribe greater importance to passages in any other speech which may appear to be inconsistent with this elaborate exposition, we would warn, in his own words, "not to select, by preference, those footmarks, in which for a moment, and from the slipperiness of the times, he may have trodden awry."*

We have no space for a history. We give therefore no narrative of the negotiations with respect to Spain; which were conducted by Mr. Canning, as well as afterwards explained in parliament, with characteristic ability. We confine ourselves to such points as are necessary for the elucidation of our main positions.

It is said† that he wished to avoid having a British minister at Verona; if this be true, it is satisfactory to find him averring that there was "nothing in the general conduct of Great Britain there, which lowered, as had been asserted, the character of England. Nothing like it."‡

Great and just stress has been laid on the plain and peremptory terms in which Mr. Canning instructed the Duke of Wellington to decline interference in the pending struggles in Spain; —"to any such interference, *come what may*, his Majesty will not be a party."§ We join in the commendations bestowed upon this truly English letter; it may perhaps suit our humour

* Speeches, v. 530. † Stapleton, i. 143. ‡ Speeches, v. 70. Parl. Deb. viii. 1487.
§ Mr. Canning to the Duke of Wellington, September 27, 1822. Parl. Deb. viii. 905.

better than a more artificial form of diplomacy, but in substance it differs nothing from the similar communications of Lord Castlereagh, the Naples circular for instance; and only furnishes a notable example of that which is one of our favourite positions, that it was in *mode* only that the policy of Mr. Canning was varied from Lord Castlereagh's. The political opponents of Mr. Canning, afterwards so forward in maintaining, perhaps in originating, for purposes of their own, the notion of a difference, saw none in the negotiation with France and Spain in 1822; and they cast upon the new foreign secretary all the imputations which they had hurled against his predecessor; save only that they could not charge upon Mr. Canning any want of classical elegance, or a neglect of grammar.

It is true that even at this early period they attempted to make a distinction between Mr. Canning and his less liberal associates; they applauded the warmth with which he breathed his wishes for the success of Spain, and the liberality of what he said of the cause of Spanish freedom; but they argued that, *in what he did*, he imitated his predecessor. Mr. Brougham treated slightingly, and with ridicule, the success of Mr. Canning in the point upon which he chiefly prided himself,* the prevention, by his manly declarations, of any *corporate* interference of the Allies in the affairs of Spain.† And yet, perhaps, the anxiety which he expressed upon this point, was the first and strongest public indication of Mr. Canning's eagerness to dissolve the alliance.

Whatever may be thought of the importance of this particular service, Mr. Canning certainly did pursue, equally in spite of the remonstrances of the Allies, and the taunts of his opponents, the true interests of his country. The occupation of Spain did not produce any one ill effect upon England, or upon Portugal, her ancient ally. How useless then, how impolitic, how criminal would have been War!

The truth is, that he watched the proceedings of the French in Spain, with a lively but discerning jealousy: he saw that the French army had not that possession of Spain of which France could make any active use. She could repress the energies of the Spaniards, she could not direct them against others. It would not be difficult to show, that France being our near and powerful neighbour, the employment of her force in a more distant country is exactly the circumstance which our policy requires.‡ In ancient times it was when the English armies were

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* See Stapleton, i. 476.

† Mr. Brougham, 14th and 30th April, Parl. Debates, viii. 1531.

‡ See Stapleton, i. 325, in confirmation of this view.

invading France, that the inroads of the Scots were the most frequent and successful.

To prove that the French army in Spain had enough to do *within* Spain, and that it remained there no longer than domestic circumstances required, we may refer to the declaration of Mr. Canning, in March, 1824, that he could not, in regard to the peace of Spain, advise the withdrawal of the troops.* They were finally withdrawn in full conformity with his opinion.

Thus all the conditions by which our neutrality was originally qualified, were faithfully fulfilled. 1. Portugal was not attacked. 2. There was no interference with South America. 3. There was no permanent occupation of Spain.†

It is no part of our plan to describe the various occurrences of Mr. Canning's ministry, related by Mr. Stapleton, on subjects unconnected with the great question of controversy. In all his communications with the powers against whom we had particular complaints, especially Spain, Mr. Canning fully maintained his own character and that of England. He stated his case, and pursued his object, with admirable precision, plainness, and success.‡ We refer to these transactions only lest it should be thought unfair to neglect them while considering a work in which they are copiously detailed.

Mr. Canning's neutral principles, of which so eminent an example had been exhibited in Spain, were soon called into action in respect of Greece. Mr. Stapleton's account of Mr. Canning's conduct on the differences between Russia and the Porte, and between the Porte and the Greeks, is peculiarly interesting; because it is founded upon, and partially cites, documents not hitherto published.

"'The questions respecting Turkey presented themselves under a double aspect. So far as related to the struggle between the Greeks and the Porte, Great Britain had no right to interfere. Whatever might be her wishes, her prejudices, or her sympathies, she was bound in political justice to respect in this case that national independence which in case of civil commotion, she would look to have respected in her own. Nor was it for a Christian government, which ruled in its distant dependen-

* Sp. v. 238. Parl. Deb. x. 92. It is right also to cite here the instructions which Lord Londonderry drew for himself when about to proceed to Verona, and which were transferred to the Duke of Wellington, September 14, 1822. "With respect to Spain, there seems nothing to add to, or vary, in the course of policy hitherto pursued, —solicitude for the safety of the Royal Family,—observance of our engagements with Portugal,—and a rigid abstinence from any interference in the internal affairs of that country, must be considered as forming the basis of his Majesty's policy." Parl. Deb. viii. 1139.

† See Stapleton, i. 325.

‡ Id. i. 166, &c.

cies over a population of millions of Mahometans, to proclaim a war of religion.'

"The discussions between Russia and Turkey, on the other hand, prescribed a case which called for English mediation. It was impossible for England to view the hazard to which Europe was exposed by the collision of two such powers, without feeling herself bound to interfere, with the utmost exertion of her good offices, to prevent so formidable a contingency.

"Accordingly she, in concert with her allies, had so interposed, and not without effect."*

After stating the possible case of Russia making requisitions upon Turkey beyond what the treaties authorized.

"In such requisitions," the history proceeds, "Mr. Canning determined that England should never join; nor should she make herself a party to any new calls upon Turkey which Russia had no right to enforce. 'If, therefore, the Emperor of Russia should resolve upon urging such demands to the extremity of war, England would withdraw altogether from any concern in the controul.'

"If this reasoning were applicable to the then existing relations between Turkey and Russia, it was still more applicable to the discussions between the Porte and its Greek subjects.

"'*In those discussions England had not the pretence of a right to interfere.* It was certainly her right, her duty, and her inclination to employ her utmost endeavours to induce the Porte, with a view to its own interests, not only to grant the fullest amnesty to, but really, and in good truth, to govern its Christian subjects with a mild and equitable sway. But as to further interference, what if the Greeks, who had but lately published an Act declaratory of their independence, should determine to accept nothing short of its acknowledgement? And what if they should reject all terms short of that acknowledgement as insult and injury? And what if the Turkish government were to put to England the question (as it would have a right to do,) whether, if the Sultan should agree to grant all that England required, and if the effect of the offer of such a concession should be to raise the demands and exasperate the resistance of the Greeks, would England make common cause with the Turks, and chastise those who rejected at once their authority and mediation? Would the English government be prepared to answer such a question in the affirmative? It certainly would not; and, even if it wished, it would not be for the interest of the Greeks that England should interfere in the quarrel on such a condition.'

"It was for these reasons, therefore, that while Mr. Canning determined to spare no exertion, by good office, to preserve peace between Russia and the Porte, and to restore internal tranquillity to Turkey, yet he was equally determined, on no consideration, to incur the risk of hostilities on either of these accounts, if those exertions should fail. To this effect the Duke of Wellington received instructions for his guidance at the Congress."†

* Stapleton, i. 198. † Ib. i. 200, 201.

Similar instructions, avoiding interference, whether for or against the great continental powers, were issued as to Italy.

"With respect to Italy, though the British Plenipotentiary was directed not to interfere on the subject so long as no measures were proposed to be adopted at the Congress, which would affect either the obligations of treaty, or the rights of independent powers, or the political balance and general tranquillity of Europe, yet he was instructed to promote any plan for the withdrawal of the Austrian troops both from Piedmont and Naples, by not withholding the expression of the satisfaction which his government would derive from such steps being resolved upon at the Congress. It was thought that such an opinion might be given without prejudice to that 'character of neutrality but not of indifference' which, with respect to the affairs of Italy, it was the wish of Great Britain to maintain."*

This neutral system did not please the parliamentary opponents of the government. It was not only in 1823, on the occasion of the invasion of Spain, that the members of Opposition regarded Mr. Canning as the enemy of European liberty, Mr. Brougham was even more violent in 1824, in his censures of the Foreign Policy of England.†

We now come to a measure, one of the most important of Mr. Canning's administration, which did obtain the approbation of the "Liberal" party; and did countenance, if not create, the notion, abroad and at home, of Mr. Canning's attachment to that side of the great European question.‡ Always keeping in view our particular object we shall first ask how this matter—the recognition of the Spanish provinces in South America—stood under the administration of Lord Castlereagh? The answer is furnished by Mr. Stapleton.

"In July, 1822," when Mr. Canning had ceased to be a member of the Cabinet, "Lord Londonderry declared to the minister of the Spanish *Constitutional* government in London, in commenting upon some plan of reconciliation between the Colonies and Spain, which the Spanish government proposed to try, that 'while those measures were in progress, his Majesty would abstain, as far as possible, from any step which would prejudice his (Catholic) Majesty's endeavours for the termination of his differences with the said Colonies; but *his Britannic Majesty would not act with the candour and explicit friendship which he owed to his ally, the King of Spain, were he not, under present circumstances, to warn him of the rapid progress of events, and of the danger of delay; that his Catholic Majesty must be aware that so large a portion of the world could not, without fundamentally disturbing the intercourse of civilized society, long continue without some recognized and established relations; and that the State, which, neither by its councils, nor by its arms, could effectually assert its*

* Stapleton, i. 217, 218. † Parl. Deb. x. 53. ‡ Rabbe, 44, 45.

*own rights over its dependencies, so far as to enforce obedience, and thus make itself responsible for maintaining their relations with other powers, must sooner or later be prepared to see those relations establish themselves, from the overruling necessity of the case, under some other form.'"**

From this period the recognition of the Spanish provinces became a question of time and circumstance. And it is certain that, not between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, who died in August, 1822, but between Mr. Canning and other members of the Cabinet, there was a difference of opinion as to the period of recognition; there is much reason for believing that the indisposition of those ministers, which produced no inconsiderable asperity of feeling, was, in part, occasioned by the objections made to the recognition by some of our Continental Allies, as tending to countenance revolt. But it *was* only a question of time; the principle was the same, and must have operated "sooner or later."

"The degree of recognition," we are told by Mr. Stapleton,† "was of course intended to have been proportioned to the degree of force and stability which the several states might have respectively acquired, and to the absence of struggle for ascendancy on the part either of the mother country, or of parties into which each state might happen to be divided."

The recognition took place at the end of 1824,‡ and was unquestionably accelerated by the exertions of Mr. Canning. Whatever merit belongs to the acknowledgement of these provinces, at the moment at which it occurred, may very fairly be claimed by Mr. Canning. It was certainly with him a favourite object, zealously pursued through many difficulties, and finally attained in spite of formidable opposition. It is within our knowledge that he rated very highly the interest which the British public took in this his favourite measure. We suspect that he over-rated it. With the mercantile public the facility and freedom of commercial intercourse with these new States was, no doubt, an object of much importance; and to this importance Mr. Canning's attention was naturally turned by his own connection with Liverpool and Mr. Huskisson. The public in a larger sense took little concern in this, or in any other proceeding of the Foreign Office.

This acknowledgement of the South American States, sup-

* Stapleton, ii. 13, 14. In this, as in many other instances, Mr. Stapleton quotes documents, without saying either what they are, or where they are to be found; and sometimes documents which have not been published. We do not know whether this important paper has been published, though it strikes us that we have seen it somewhere.

† ii. 15. ‡ King's Speech, February 1825. Parl. Deb. xii. 5.

posing it to have been brought about by Mr. Canning sooner than it would have been effected by Lord Castlereagh—and this *can* only be a supposition—cannot possibly establish a fundamental difference of policy between those two statesmen; more especially as Mr. Canning, when challenged by Mr. Brougham for tardiness in the recognition, took particular credit for the *time* at which it was accomplished.*

But a remarkable speech from Mr. Canning, and the new and ingenious comments of Mr. Stapleton, have so connected this subject with the European question, and the Holy Alliance, as to bring it necessarily under further consideration here. Our French author, indeed, considers the measure, or rather the language in which it was justified, as indicating a material change in Mr. Canning's principles.† We perceive no inconsistency in the minister, much in the critics and biographers.

So far as we can learn from published documents or speeches, Mr. Canning took up the question of recognition just as it had been left by Lord Londonderry; to whose declarations on the subject he referred in his communications to the French government‡ on the march of the French army into Spain. It was to be inferred from his communication, and is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Canning would have resisted any attempt on the part of France to indemnify herself in the Spanish Colonies for the expenses of the war. Is there the slightest ground for suspecting that Lord Castlereagh would, under any circumstances have permitted the interference of France?

Mr. Stapleton gives us, for the first time, a communication from Mr. Canning in August, 1823, to the American Minister, Mr. Rush, proposing concerted measures for the eventual recognition. This overture fell to the ground for want of powers in the American.

In October, 1823, Mr. Canning had a conference with Prince Polignac, ambassador from France, the minutes of which were published in the following March,§ together with a correspondence, which soon followed, with Spain herself.

From these papers it appears that Mr. Canning declined, on the part of England, any participation in a discussion of the question jointly with the other powers: because England had separate grievances against Spain in reference to commerce, and had moreover a more decided opinion upon the necessity of acknowledging the independence of the provinces. But every

* Stapleton, ii. 72. Speeches, v. 320. Parl. Debates, xii. 77. † Rabbe, 53.

‡ Mr. Canning to Sir Charles Stuart, March 31st, 1823. Parl. Debates, viii. 964. "Spain has long been apprized of his Majesty's opinions upon this subject."

§ Parl. Debates, x. 708.

one of the powers had been constantly and "unreservedly apprised not only of each step which the British government had taken, but of every opinion which it had formed upon the subject."*

It also appears that the French government, or its ultra-royalist representative, admitting the hopelessness of attempting to restore South America to Spain, regarded the anarchical state of the provinces as a bar to the acknowledgment of their independence, and proposed a concert of European powers for "endeavouring to bring back to a principle of government, whether monarchical or aristocratical, people among whom absurd and dangerous theories were keeping up agitation and disunion."† "Mr. Canning," whose reply, wherewith the conference ended, we give as a proof of his judicious abstinence from irritating topics, and strict adherence to purely English motives, "contented himself, without entering into discussion upon these abstract principles, with saying, that however desirable the establishment of a monarchical form of government in any of the provinces might be, on the one hand, or whatever might be the difficulties in the way of it on the other hand, his government could not take upon itself to put it forward as a condition of recognition."

The intention to conclude commercial treaties with several of the new states was announced to parliament at the opening of the session of 1825,‡ and realized in the course of that year.

The whole transaction which led to this acknowledgment proceeded, as it appeared to the world, in a plain, simple and intelligible course; it was grounded upon the principles of public law, called into action by the interests of England. It did not necessarily place us in any new relation with the members of the Holy Alliance, or interfere with the stipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. As we had abstained from opposition to the invasion, for reasons peculiar to themselves, of Naples and Piedmont by Austria, and of Spain by France, notwithstanding that we disapproved of these measures, so we now persisted, in spite of the remonstrances of those continental powers, in a proceeding which we thought just, and conducive to our separate interests.

But in December, 1826, two years after the measure had been

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* Mr. Canning to Sir William A'Court, January 30, 1824, x. 719, and his note to the Spanish minister, M. de los Rios, March 25th, 1825, Ann. Reg. p. 51. This note contains a clear recapitulation of the conduct of the British government with respect to these provinces during the administration of Lord Castlereagh, as well as during that of Mr. Canning, and a very able defence of the proceedings of both.

† x. 712. ‡ Parl. Debates, xii. 6.

completed, Mr. Canning opened, for the first time, to the House, a new view of this transaction.

Admitting* "that the entry of the French army into Spain was in a certain sense, a disparagement—an affront to her pride—a blow to the feelings of England."—

He had asked himself—

"if the possession of Spain might be rendered harmless in rival hands, harmless as regarded us, and valueless to the possessors? Might not compensation for disparagement be obtained, and the policy of our ancestors vindicated by means better adapted to the present time? If France occupied Spain, was it necessary, in order to avoid the consequences of that occupation, that we should attack Cadiz? No—I looked another way—I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. Contemplating Spain such as our ancestors had known her, I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain *with the Indies—I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old!*"

In his reference to the policy of our ancestors, M. Canning had in view the combination of "the Indies" with "Spain" in all the votes of parliament whereby Queen Anne was exhorted to persevere in the war for keeping the Spanish monarchy out of the hands of the Bourbons: and in this his second great speech on the same day, delivered while he was under great excitement from his former exertion, and the just applause which he had received, he wrought himself up to the utterance of the singular opinion, and the statement of the astounding fact, which are found in the passage cited.

We cannot believe that it was Mr. Canning's deliberate opinion, that a permanent, undisputed, occupation of Spain by France could be *harmless* as regarded England, or valueless in any sense; nor can we be persuaded that Mr. Canning held, that the state and proportion of the powers of Europe could be made a matter of indifference, by the creation of independent states in South America! That the colonies were now the more valuable part of the Spanish monarchy—that without them Spain would be far less formidable—that a conqueror of Spain, *without the Indies*, would have accomplished but one-half of his undertaking, may readily be admitted. But that the union of France and Spain under one powerful prince, would hurt nothing of England but her feelings, was not, and could not be, the doctrine of Mr. Canning.

If it were granted that South American independence was a com-

* Second Speech on Portugal, December 12, 1826. Speeches, vi. 3. Parl. Debates, xvi. 397.

pensation for the derangement of the balance of power in Europe, and that it was so regarded by Mr. Canning, we should have therein a fresh proof of the adherence to English interests, which we have recognised and praised in Mr. Canning. It is clear that he looked at the "balance" as it affected England alone. For it is not absolutely impossible that the new states might compensate England for an accession of strength to an European neighbour; but it *is* absolutely impossible that they should compensate Belgium, or Genoa, or Poland, or any German state, for the absence of a free constitution, or the repression of liberal opinions.

It is almost amusing to listen to the various imputations of deep design and complicated motive, whereby ingenious men adorn a simple matter. The acknowledgment of the Spanish provinces was the obvious occurrence in the policy of England, which no English minister could have long delayed; but Mr. Stapleton, not content with referring it to the simple grounds on which it was placed by Lord Castlereagh, or even to the more elaborate motives avowed by Mr. Canning, ascribes it (if we understand him) to an abstract principle of opposition to the Holy Alliance!

"The demonstration of the fact, that because the Spanish American governments were the offspring of rebellion, and republican in their form, Great Britain would not be prevented from entering with those governments into treaties of amity and commerce, provided that other circumstances prescribed the fitness of such a course, was an exact counterpoise to the conduct of the Holy Alliance in refusing to continue diplomatic relations with the constitutional government of Spain, because that form of government was not the free gift of the Spanish monarch.

"Moreover, the Holy Alliance was virtually dissolved by the measure; for, from that time forth, the intimate union between its members ceased to exist, and they no longer continued to act together upon the same principles."*

Now we have already seen, first, that the recognition was contemplated by Lord Castlereagh† as an event not remote, at a time when the struggle for independence had at least as much of a rebellious character as in 1824; and secondly, that England had professed, and acted upon, different principles from those of the allies. To the proof already given of this fact,‡ we add the declaration of Mr. Canning, founded upon the same evidence which we have adduced, that this difference had existed, and had been avowed under the administration of Lord Castlereagh.

"In truth, the principle of *non-interference* is one on which we were

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* Stapleton, ii. 4. † See p. 411. ‡ See p. 56, *ante*.

already," that is, when Lord Castlereagh was proceeding to Verona, "irrecoverably at variance in opinion with the allies; it was no longer debatable ground. On the one hand, the alliance upholds the doctrine of an European police; this country, on the other hand, as appears from the memorandum already quoted, protests against that doctrine. The question is, in fact, settled, as many questions are, by each party retaining its own opinions."*

Parties thus differing, and retaining each his own opinion, naturally become more and more estranged; and it is probable that the consummation by Mr. Canning of that recognition of the Spanish provinces, which was only intended by his predecessor, accelerated and aggravated the estrangement. It may be that this estrangement was hastened by the more decisive tone which Mr. Canning assumed in reference to this and other points wherein he differed from the allies.

It does appear from Mr. Stapleton, that Mr. Canning's urgency for the recognition of the Spanish provinces, was increased with the probability of a more permanent occupation of Spain by the French troops. From the beginning he had been anxious to bring about the measure amicably, to persuade Spain herself to take the lead† in the acknowledgment of the independence of her provinces; he was ready, at one period, to mediate between France and Spain, on the condition that Spain would treat on the foundation of the independence of her colonies;‡ but he seems afterwards to have pressed the measure as one which England should adopt, in order to show that she could and would act for *her* own interests, if the other allies were uninterruptedly to pursue theirs.

All that we deny is, that this recognition of South America, or any of its consequences, placed England in any different position, in respect of the rest of Europe, from that in which she stood while the Holy Alliance was recent and in full force. We know not to what occurrences Mr. Stapleton alludes, when he says that its members no longer acted together; nor with our English views, is the question important. Most assuredly England did not co-operate in the Alliance after this measure was adopted, nor did she so co-operate at any period of its existence. Neither Mr. Canning nor Lord Castlereagh did, or left undone, any thing connected with the interests of England, at the instigation of the Holy Alliance. *Both* saw, and abstained from opposing by force, of arms, proceedings adopted by those allies, of which England disapproved. The case in which the English principle of ab-

* Speeches, 30th April, 1823, v. 65. Parl. Debates, viii. 1485.
† See Letter to Sir William A'Court, Jan. 30th, 1824. Parl. Deb. x. 717.
‡ Speech, 30th April, 1823.

staining from interference, where the event, however unpalatable to England, did not immediately threaten her interests, was brought most prominently into action, was the case which fell to Mr. Canning. Spain assuredly touched us more nearly than Naples or Piedmont.

No part of Mr. Canning's administration gave him more anxiety, or required more of the various qualities which he possessed, than the affairs of Portugal and Brazil. It is with particular reference to these transactions, which are copiously related by Mr. Stapleton, that the variation of policy between Mr. Canning and his *successors* is maintained. For our present object, which concerns only the measures of Mr. Canning and his *predecessors*, an examination of the narrative is unnecessary. We shall only refer to one or two points, bearing upon the character of Mr. Canning's policy.

It must be recollected that interference, by friendly advice, in the affairs of Portugal, stands upon grounds quite different from those on which a similar line of conduct can be placed in reference to any other country. The intimacy of our union with Portugal, and the obligations under which we lie to defend her against all attacks; her weakness of position, which would render her an easy prey to one great power, if she were not protected by another; and the situation of her ports, which in hostile hands might be dangerous to England, and therefore render her independence an English object; and the close connection which existed during the war when our minister at Lisbon was a member of the regency; all these considerations* peculiar to Portugal have for very many years occasioned an interference with the affairs of that country, which would in no other case have been offered or accepted.

We shall see how studiously Mr. Canning, notwithstanding the intimacy of this connection, adhered, through the whole of these transactions with Portugal, to his principle of non-interference in the affairs of other states.

In the year 1822, the constitution, which had been established in Portugal on the model of the Spanish constitution of 1820, had been overturned, and the King, John VI. had been restored to nearly absolute power. But he so far obeyed the spirit of the times, as to promise to his subjects a new constitution, to emanate from his royal will. According to Mr. Stapleton, the ministers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia endeavoured to prevent the accomplishment of this promise. Mr. Canning contented himself with this rational advice: he did not disguise his opinion, that—

* See Lord Palmerston's Speech, June 1st, 1829. Parl. Deb. xxi. 1647.

"Since the misfortunes with which Spain was at that moment afflicted, were in no inconsiderable degree to be traced to the violation of a like voluntary engagement on the part of her sovereign, and since the pledged word of his Majesty, and the declared sentiments of M. de Palmella, must have excited expectations in the people of Portugal, the fate of Spain ought to be considered as a warning, that those expectations could not be disappointed without incurring the danger of similar calamities."*

The Portuguese minister, Palmella, then applied for British troops, in order to give security to the king's government. This was refused, as involving the appearance of

"a forcible interference with the internal affairs of another state. But Portugal was too old and too valued a connection to be lightly abandoned; and since the presence of a British naval force was sure to 'confirm, in the eyes of the Portuguese nation, the strict intimacy and good-will subsisting between the two crowns; and, by inference, the disposition of the King of England to lend every practical support to his most faithful Majesty;' it was determined by the British cabinet to send, without loss of time, a squadron to the Lisbon station."†

The English government was then asked, whether, in the event of a constitution being given to Portugal, England would guarantee it against the commotion which it was likely to excite among the prejudiced and perverse people of that country.

"I declined," said Mr. Canning, "on the part of Great Britain, to accede to this strange application; and I endeavoured to reconcile the Portuguese government to our refusal, by showing that the demand was one which went directly to the infraction of that principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, which we professed for ourselves, and which it was obviously the interest of Portugal to see respected and maintained."‡

In April, 1824, the personal safety of the king was endangered by a rising in which Don Miguel took an active part; and on this occasion an asylum was afforded to the royal family on board of a British man of war. This personal assistance by one sovereign to another, when in danger, has been frequently afforded without any participation in the disputes which occasioned the danger. It was to have been afforded to the Neapolitan royal family in 1813; and was, as we have lately seen,§ provided for in respect of the Spanish royal family, at the moment of disclaiming interference.

The crisis was soon over; but the Portuguese government remained in a very insecure state, with an army greatly needing reform, and party running very high. The representative of France, M. Hyde de Neuville, most anxious to find an excuse

* Stapleton, ii. 204.
† Ibid. 205.
‡ Speeches, v. 116.
§ p. 409, *ante*.

for introducing into Portugal a portion of the French troops which occupied Spain, persuaded (according to Mr. Stapleton,) the Portuguese government to apply once more to England for military succour. The refusal was to furnish to this enterprising French diplomatist an excuse for summoning French troops into Portugal; and it was intimated to our government, probably at his suggestion, that if England should refuse, an application would be made to France.

The British government hesitated between the danger of exposing Portugal to the invited invasion of French troops, and that of a forcible interference by England in the affairs of Portugal. But it was finally resolved to recommend to the Hanoverian* government to send a body of troops into Portugal. "To prevent the entrance of French troops into Portugal was the one grand reason with the British government for listening to the solicitation of M. Villa Real." Mr. Canning's determination therefore is not to be taken as affecting one way or the other the question of interfering, *for* or *against*, free constitutions or liberal principles; but it must be remarked that on this, the only occasion on which Mr. Canning listened to an application for troops, except as imperatively required by treaty, the government which was to be protected had no claim to the designation of *liberal*.

Finally, the Hanoverian troops were not sent to Portugal. The French ambassador in London, M. de Polignac, hearing of the intention, and not participating in the schemes of Hyde de Neuville, remonstrated against it. Both parties then agreed to abstain from sending troops; Hyde de Neuville was disavowed, and cautioned.

Sir William A'Court, (now Lord Heytesbury,) in whose prudence and ability Mr. Canning had a deserved confidence, was now sent to Lisbon as ambassador; and British interests obtained a triumph in the recall of M. Hyde de Neuville, and in the dismissal of M. Subserra from the administration.

We are told by Mr. Stapleton,† and we readily believe, that in these struggles the representative of England had to contend not only with France, but with Spain, and the members of the Holy Alliance. We believe also that the opposition of the latter was occasioned by the avowed opinion of England in favour of a constitutional charter, and a consequent wish that France, rather than England, might retain an influence at Lisbon. We have already given, in the words of Mr. Canning himself, the grounds

* Hanoverian troops were preferred to English, because the employment of English would have required the assembly of parliament.

† Vol. ii. 242.

of his opinion in favour of a charter. The tranquillity of Portugal, and the maintenance of our connection with her, were always, as they ought always to be, the objects of the English minister. The opposition to France, or to the over-zealous partisan by whom she was represented at Lisbon, did naturally strengthen the connection of England with the party which France desired to suppress.*

On March 10th, 1826, the King of Portugal died. It is a curious fact, that Mr. Canning and Prince Metternich, hereupon separately recommended to Don Pedro, a resignation of his crown in favour of his daughter Donna Maria, and the marriage of that daughter with her uncle Don Miguel.† Don Pedro acquiesced, but added the grant of a constitutional charter, an addition to the arrangements suggested from England, "which Mr. Canning neither advised nor wished."‡ Sir Charles Stuart, then on a mission to Rio Janeiro, having no time to receive instructions from home, consented to be the bearer of Don Pedro's charter—a crude and hasty composition. The British government, anxious that Great Britain should not be supposed to have been "the contriver and imposer of the constitution," peremptorily enjoined Sir Charles Stuart to return home so soon as he had deposited the instrument at Lisbon. To this constitution, however, though he pretty plainly indicated that he thought it open to criticism, Mr. Canning wished well; and he hoped that emanating from royal prerogative, it would be tolerated by the continental powers.

The regency established by King John on his death-bed, was in possession of the government; but the nation was far from unanimous. There existed a strong party against it, and the constitution, and the mal-contents were favoured by Spain. The interference of Spain went so far as to give assistance to those Portuguese who fled across her frontier, and to return them, armed and equipped, hostilely to oppose the Portuguese government. The regency hereupon solicited the aid of England in virtue of ancient treaties, and that aid was afforded with a promptitude, creditable alike to the good faith of England, and the vigour of her administration.

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* Extract of a Letter from Mr. Canning to Sir William A'Court, July 17th, 1826. "It appears to us, upon the whole, that the best chance of a safe and tranquil issue to the present extraordinary crisis in Portugal, will be to be found in an acceptance (as immediate as may be suitable with the importance of the measure) of the charter of Don Pedro, coupled (as it is) with his abdication of the throne. Any other course must, as it appears to us, be full of danger; but if, nevertheless, another course shall be pursued, we shall not be the less anxious for its peaceable and happy issue, than if it were one which we had ourselves advised."—*Comm. Journ.* lxxxiv. 774.

† Stapleton, iii. 176. ‡ 183.

In calling upon Parliament to sanction and continue the employment of the troops, Mr. Canning laid down, in language strictly conformable to that which he had used when only contemplating as possible the case which had now occurred, the principles upon which the troops were sent, and their duty when in Portugal. After reciting the treaties and explaining them—

"We go," he said, "to Portugal in the discharge of a sacred obligation, contracted under ancient and modern treaties. When there, nothing shall be done by us to enforce the establishment of the constitution; but we must take care that nothing shall be done by others to prevent it from being fairly carried into effect. Internally, let the Portuguese settle their own affairs; but with respect to external force, while Great Britain has an arm to raise, it must be raised against the efforts of any power that should attempt forcibly to control the choice and fetter the independence of Portugal."*

We claim for these sentiments, wisdom, consistency, and moderation; but we deny to them peculiarity or novelty. They proceed in the uniform tenour of British policy, and are such as Lord Castlereagh would have uttered under corresponding circumstances.

While Mr. Canning† took care to mark that the vote which he demanded was "a vote for the defence of Portugal, not a vote of war against Spain," he disclaimed any dread of war on the ground of the inability of England to bear it.

"I dread it, indeed," he said, "but upon far other grounds: I dread it from an apprehension of the tremendous consequences which might arise from any hostilities in which we might now be engaged. Some years ago, in the discussion of the negotiations respecting the French war against Spain, I took the liberty of adverting to this topic. I then stated that the position of this country in the present state of the world was one of neutrality, not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles; and that it was by neutrality alone that we could maintain that balance, the preservation of which I believed to be essential to the welfare of mankind. I then said, that I feared that the next war which should be kindled in Europe, would be a war not so much of armies, as of opinions. Not four years have elapsed, and behold my apprehension realized!"‡ * * * * "If into that war this country shall be compelled to enter, we shall enter into it with a sincere and anxious desire to mitigate rather than exasperate—and to mingle only in the conflict of arms, not in the more fatal conflict of opinions. But I much fear that this country, (however earnestly she may endeavour to avoid it,) could not, in such case, avoid seeing ranked under her banners all the restless and dissatisfied of any nation with which she might come in conflict. It is the contemplation of this new power in any future

* Speeches, vi. 83. Parl. Deb. xvi. 364.
† Stapleton, iii. 221.
‡ Speeches, vi. 89, 90.

war, which excites my most anxious apprehension. It is one thing to have a giant's strength, but it would be another to use it like a giant. The consciousness of such strength is, undoubtedly, a source of confidence and security; but in the situation in which this country stands, our business is not to seek opportunities of displaying it, but to content ourselves with letting the professors of violent and exaggerated doctrines on both sides feel, that it is not their interest to convert an umpire into an adversary."*

Then followed this celebrated and mistaken passage:—

"The situation of England, amidst the struggle of political opinions which agitates more or less sensibly the different countries of the world, may be compared to that of the Ruler of the Winds, as described by the poet:—

'Celsâ sedet Æolus arce,
Sceptra tenens; mollitque animos et temperat iras;
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.'

The consequence of letting loose the passions at present chained and confined, would be to produce a scene of desolation which no man can contemplate without horror; and I should not sleep easy on my couch, if I were conscious that I had contributed to precipitate it by a single moment."†

This passage created a great sensation, especially in foreign countries; the members of the Holy Alliance received it as a threat, the discontented of all nations hailed it as an encouragement. To him who now reads it with the slightest attention to the context, and to the circumstances of the times, its meaning appears neither portentous nor mysterious. It furnishes one additional illustration of the position which we have maintained, namely, that England, pursuing her own interests, may give her support at one time to one, and at another time to another of the two great principles which divide the rest of Europe. The war between Portugal and Spain, which occasioned the interference of England, had already assumed the character of a struggle of constitutional liberty against arbitrary power. It was certain that all the despots of Europe, and the indiscriminating upholders of ancient institutions, would be arrayed on the side of Spain; all the revolutionists on the side of Portugal. The slightest encouragement from England would call the latter from all parts of Europe, and give them a consistency and a strength probably irresistible. Mr. Canning desired not to wield so dangerous a weapon, and therefore the more deprecated war. His reasoning was intelligible and simple; but there were men who had an interest in perverting it; those, namely, who, in order to justify

* Speeches, vi. 90, 91. † Ibid. vi. 91, 92.

their support of Mr. Canning, found it useful to ascribe to him principles of policy opposite to those which they had theretofore opposed in him. Foreigners were easily misled, and we know it to be a fact, that Mr. Canning received offers to raise insurrections and levy troops in various parts of Europe, in furtherance of his declared intentions to revolutionize the world!

This would indeed have been a departure from the policy "which he found recorded in his office"—but the whole is an idle dream.

Notwithstanding all these strange misrepresentations, the British troops, by their mere presence, effected the object of their employment, in securing Portugal against Spain; their presence also, without doubt, gave a support to the constitutional government of the Regent, Donna Isabella; the government which had been formed under the constitutional charter granted by Don Pedro.

Through the unpopularity of this charter, and the strength of Don Miguel's partizans, it is not probable that the government could have stood, if the British troops had been withdrawn; and it is probable that this consideration had its weight in inducing the British government to retain them in Portugal, though it is in truth extremely difficult to name the period at which the danger of Spanish invasion had ceased. The British force then was, at the time of Mr. Canning's death, protecting in Portugal "constitutional" government; a government, which, compared with that by which it was wished to supersede it, might be called "liberal." But this was an accident—(we have elsewhere called it "a happy accident,"*) and cannot with any shadow of correctness be taken as evincing a desire in Mr. Canning to afford the aid of British troops to any foreign country, in reference to the character of its institutions. It was with Mr. Canning, as with every British minister, an object to preserve an influence in Portugal; he had been much consulted in the formation of the present government, and moreover deemed it the legitimate government; the partisans of Don Miguel, who were opposed to it, were also opposed to British interests.† Mr. Canning was therefore desirous of preventing the subversion of this government by Don Miguel, though very anxious also to avoid active interference. Herein therefore we recognise the leading principles of Mr. Canning's policy. More recent events may, or may not, be deemed to have justified other measures; but they cannot alter the nature of those proceedings of Mr. Canning, to which alone we now refer.

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* Foreign Quarterly Review, ii. 175. † Stapleton, iii. 248.

We have already seen, that Mr. Canning had not deemed it consistent with his principles or policy, to interfere in the disputes between the Ottoman Porte and its Greek subjects. But the increasing importance of the contest, the consequent necessity of allowing to Greece the rights of a belligerent, which was difficult without the recognition of independence, which at the same time her situation scarcely justified, and finally, the solicitation of the Greeks themselves, induced him so far to depart from his determination as to mediate between the two parties. In this mediation England acted in concert with Russia,* and did not at first contemplate the use of force, in case of a refusal, by either party, of the terms proposed.† After the change of government in 1827, and the union of France with England and Russia in Greek affairs, it was determined to enforce by war the proposals to be made to the contending parties. We cannot pursue these transactions without deviating from our present purpose; one point, however, it is, *for* that purpose, necessary to notice—the care which was taken to set forth, at the very head of the Treaty for the pacification of Greece, the reasons for its adoption—the necessity of putting an end to a sanguinary struggle, which, while it abandoned the Greek provinces and the islands of the Archipelago to all the disorders of anarchy, "*daily caused fresh impediments to the commerce of the States of Europe, and gave opportunity for acts of piracy, which not only exposed the subjects of the high contracting parties to grievous losses, but also rendered necessary measures which were burthensome, for their observation and suppression.*"‡

Another object, not avowed on the face of the Treaty, but apparent in one of its Articles,§ was to prevent the aggrandizement of Russia at the expense of Turkey.

These circumstances entirely separate the case of Turkey from all the cases in which a question of interference on behalf of a revolting nation, or invaded country, occurred in the time of Lord Castlereagh.

We have now referred to all those transactions of Mr. Canning which bear upon the averment which we have undertaken to controvert, viz.

"*that England, under Lord Castlereagh, was a party, assisting if not contracting, to a league of sovereigns for the repression of liberal and popular*

* Protocol of St. Petersburgh, signed by the Duke of Wellington, April 24th, 1826. Parl. Deb. xviii. 87.

† Stapleton, iii. 255, 263.

‡ Treaty of 6th July, 1827. Parl. Debates, xviii. 89.

§ Art. V. stipulates that neither of the parties will seek in these arrangements any augmentation of territory, any exclusive influence, or any commercial advantage for their subjects, which those of every other nation may not equally obtain.

institutions, under the name of the Holy Alliance; and that Mr. Canning, when Secretary for Foreign Affairs, disconnected England from this alliance, and gave her powerful support to the cause of liberty in Europe."*

We have not attempted a history of Mr. Canning's administration further than the discussion of the truth of this averment has required. No friend, therefore, of the deceased statesman must impute to us neglect of his fame, if we have passed over many instances of the exercise of his great powers in maintaining the influence of England, and arranging the complicated affairs of Europe in a most eventful period. Much as we condemn in Mr. Stapleton's book, we refer to it with pleasure for its elaborate exposition of proceedings, whereby the rare qualities of his patron are forcibly illustrated.

Yet in perusing the complaints of neglected interests and tarnished honour, we have sometimes been reminded of the memoirs by which Gil Blas described the ill state of Spain, when the Conde d'Olivares succeeded the Duque de Lerma.† "The balance of power was no more." England, that had so long been looked upon as "the land of freedom"—"the protector of the oppressed," was now a passive spectator of schemes for destroying "the just freedom of the people." "The glory that had once surrounded her was fled."‡ Now what does all this really mean? Is it possible that he who makes these representations can have read the history of his country, or the comments upon it in the speeches or the practice of Mr. Canning? He would there have learned that England had at no time been the protector of the oppressed from motives of philanthropy or chivalry, or for any motive independent of her own interest. And what are the instances of criminal passiveness? Naples? Piedmont? Spain? We ask as to these in particular, and we also put the question generally, what, and where, and when, were the injurious proceedings which Lord Castlereagh witnessed passively, while Mr. Canning, when a minister, proposed to interfere, or with which, according to principles subsequently avowed, we may conclude that Mr. Canning *would have* interfered?

We must deal in like manner, by demanding instances and proofs, with another of the vague charges brought by Mr. Stapleton against Lord Castlereagh, whose principles are, in this amended form of the calumny, allowed to have been sound enough, but it is said that he did not "make his measures accord with them."§

We have hitherto described the policy of Mr. Canning as we find it developed in his speeches and his writings. As his style

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* See Foreign Quarterly Review, p. 35, *ante*.
† Gil Blas, liv. xv. c. 5.
‡ Stapleton, i. 61, 62.
§ Stapleton, i. 140.

was remarkably perspicuous and precise, there can scarcely be a more authentic or unerring exposition. We will listen, however, to his secretary, though he has not always imitated the precision of the minister.

He tells us, and very truly, that Mr. Canning placed his chief boast* "upon the execution of the principles,"† which he had shared with his predecessor. Yet it is elsewhere said that he "*conceived* a scheme of policy regulated by fixed principles of action, and calculated to produce definite and foreseen results."‡

In another passage "the fundamental principle of Mr. Canning's policy" is thus described:—

"To preserve the peace of the world was the leading policy of England. For this purpose it was necessary in the first place, to prevent to the utmost of her power the breaking out of new quarrels; in the second place, to compose, when it could be done by friendly mediation, existing differences; and thirdly, when that was hopeless, to narrow as much as possible their limits; fourthly, *to maintain for herself an undeviating neutrality in all cases where nothing should occur to affect injuriously her interests or her honour.*"§

Unless it be thought that there is here, perhaps, a little more leaning to active but amicable interference, this delineation of Mr. Canning's policy, *which is given by Mr. Stapleton as a quotation*, might be taken as a new version of Lord Castlereagh's minutes and circular despatches.

But we have shortly afterwards another description of the system, or of the effects expected from it, which is *not* marked as taken from an existing document. The object is here,

"*first, to disperse the danger with which the world was threatened from the collision of the supporters of absolute power, and the advocates of revolution;* secondly, to restore to Great Britain her just influence amongst the other powers of Europe; thirdly, to advance the prosperity of surrounding nations by a judicious use of that influence; and fourthly, above all, to promote by these means the interests of his own country."‖

In pursuit of these effects, we are told, Mr. Canning, considering that the preponderance of physical force was on the popular side, and that if repressed by the measures and practice of the Holy Alliance, it would produce a convulsion, determined to delay the progress of those measures, by withdrawing England from its counsels, denouncing its doctrines, acting in opposition to its principles and wishes, thus decreasing its strength, and

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* Stapleton, † Speech, 24th Feb. 1823, p. 60, *ante*.
‡ Ibid. i. 474. § Ibid. ii. 376. ‖ Ibid. iii. 289, 290.

finally extinguishing the body itself. *All this was accomplished by the recognition of Spanish America;* after that the Holy Alliance "ventured on no new crusades"—and it is given as a notable proof of the dissolution of the alliance, that Russia declared she would no longer act with such allies.

"Mr. Canning, by thus withering into nothingness this mighty combination of continental sovereigns, soothed the exasperated feelings of the people, and taught them to look with confidence towards the British government, and with increased moderation on the just pretensions of their own. He relieved Europe from the incubus with which she had been oppressed, and feelings of sympathy between kings and people again began to revive. Neither party, indeed, had triumphed, but both, in reality, had gained. The irritating oppression of the Alliance being removed, the excitement to resistance was withdrawn, so that while the cause of liberty was advanced, the foundations of monarchy were strengthened."*

He is no friend to any minister who establishes a test severe as this, for the trial of his measures! Mr. Canning's friends may be satisfied with the fame which he has acquired, without ascribing to him all the glories here fancied by Mr. Stapleton. We feel pretty confident that Mr. Canning never indulged in speculations such as these. We are sure that if he did, he must have been woefully disappointed. Mr. Stapleton has not named the countries to which his flattering remarks are intended to apply—our recollection will not supply the deficiency.

But laying aside the exaggerations of the private secretary, we may observe that the dispersion of the danger to arise from the confliction of discordant principles, and the collision of two parties, is a legitimate object, in no way inconsistent with the policy of Lord Castlereagh. It is an English object, very different from that of supporting the popular cause, from a mere hatred of despotism. It was, moreover, an object avowed by Mr. Canning at the outset of his administration. To restore or maintain England's influence in Europe, to promote the interest of his own country, were, no doubt, also parts of Mr. Canning's policy, which it was scarcely necessary to set forth as peculiarly his. As a man of generous mind, Mr. Canning, we have no doubt, delighted to witness the prosperity of surrounding nations; but we apprehend that its advancement was no more a part of his policy than of his duty.

There is thus really no point in the policy of Mr. Canning, even as it is expounded by his biographer, whereon, *in reference to any practical question, affecting the conduct of England,* there

* Stapleton, iii. 291, 292.

is a difference with Lord Castlereagh. We have already shown that the principles and decisions of Lord Castlereagh, in all questions between England and foreign states, were approved by Mr. Canning; we affirm also that Mr. Canning took no decision inconsistent with those same principles.

All that can be gathered from Mr. Stapleton is, that Mr. Canning was of opinion that the existence of the Holy Alliance, and the continual intercommuning of the continental powers, on questions of internal government, did give to the despotic principle an undue preponderance, which might produce a collision dangerous to the peace of the world, and tending to involve England in war; he therefore greatly desired the destruction of the Alliance. And although this view of Mr. Canning's opinions as to the state of the question between despotism and democracy, is not supported, unless it be in distant allusion, by any of his public acts or speeches, we give credit to Mr. Stapleton, and to those under whose auspices he writes, for information substantially correct upon this point. Mr. Canning's early success, and the homage to which he had been accustomed from his youth, co-operated with a consciousness of his own powers and natural quickness of feeling, to occasion impatience and intolerance when his measures were opposed, or his principles disputed. It may be true that the tone as well as the extent of the opposition which he had sometimes to encounter in his administration of foreign affairs, from some of the European governments, and of his own colleagues,* did generate in his somewhat irritable mind a more decided leaning towards the party which opposed those governments than he at any time avowed. We do not believe, with Mr. Stapleton, that this was his feeling from the period of his accession to office, and that he went on for four years without any public explanation of it.† Nor can we admit, with M. Rabbe, that he, who was in England the champion of the conservative principle, intended to put himself "at the head of a revolutionary" movement throughout Europe.‡ And certainly there can be no greater mistake than that of our French author, who imagines that Mr. Canning contemplated with satisfaction the prospect of war, and intended, in the character of Æolus,§ to

* We believe M. Rabbe to be incorrect (p. 48) in his enumeration of the members who opposed Mr. Canning in the cabinet; but Mr. Canning himself said (Sp. v. 316, 317) that the line of separation was a serpentine line, that is, that parties were not divided, on the South American, by the same line which separated them on the Catholic Question.

† Stapleton, iii. 295, 296.

‡ Rabbe, p. 55. "A la tête du mouvement *constitutionel*." It is hardly necessary to observe that this expression, as here used, implies *change* of constitution, not conservation.

§ Rabbe (p. 65) prefaces some very disparaging remarks on Mr. Canning, by styling

let loose the winds which should shake heaven and earth to their foundations. We are satisfied that his patriotism, and his favourite English maxims, would have always kept him from acting in any way inconsistent with his public avowals, and above all we do not believe that he could have been induced to depart from the principle of non-interference with the affairs of other states. But we admit, only because those who had a right to know his sentiments have told us so, that he latterly apprehended evil from the repression rather than from the expansion of those notions of freedom, from which, in 1823, he had contemplated the more imminent danger. If there was here a new system of policy, it was a variation as much from Mr. Canning himself as from his predecessor.

An inquiry into the result of the more recent measures of Mr. Canning's administration, would lead us too far into the controversy touching the subsequent measures of the Duke of Wellington, from which in this article we intend to abstain. One remark only we shall make on the dissolution of the Holy Alliance. It was a compact never likely to endure for a long time. It was always to be expected that where any one or more of the parties had separate interests, each would rather act in pursuit of them than of the principles of the Alliance. Nor was there in the treaty any thing to restrain a power so situated. If Russia rejected the interference of her allies, in the affairs of Greece, it was because Austria had a distinct interest, and Prussia was her friend. If Austria co-operated with England, in the affairs of Portugal and Brazil, it was because the connection with the Braganza family gave the emperor an interest, which the other allies had not. If France consulted England as to the withdrawal of the troops from Spain, it was because England alone had objected to their introduction.

The operation, however, of these several causes, was facilitated by Mr. Canning, who assuredly obtained by his opposition to the continental powers, and the general character of his diplomacy, a great name throughout Europe as a gifted and liberal statesman. His talents, unquestionably, fully deserved the praise; and there was enough of merit in the measures which he adopted to enable him to reject the commendations bestowed upon intentions which he did not entertain.

There was in the mind of Mr. Canning a remarkable quickness of comprehension and precision of sentiment. He enforced with great ability, and inculcated with peculiar dexterity, an intelligible

him "Cet Eole Britannique." He attributes his success to chance, and says that "la guerre ne sera pas pour lui qu'une speculation commerciale commandée par l'aristocratie de son pays."

view of multifarious transactions. The power of his understanding, and the skilfulness of his argument, accompanied by a fascinating openness of manner, and at the same time a confident perseverance in his own purpose, gave him an irresistible influence in discussion, and sometimes obtained acquiescence in his views, from those who, without changing their opinions, found themselves beaten in the controversy. England never had a minister by whom her interests were more skilfully pursued, or sustained more firmly.

If we appear to detract from his comparative merit, it is not by depreciating him, but by giving a just value to the other object of comparison. Mr. Canning upheld,—he did not *retrieve*, —the honour of his country.

Art. VI.—1. *Réglement de la Société des Méthodes d'Enseignement.* Paris. 1830.

2. *Cours gratuits destinés aux gens du Monde sous les auspices de la Société des Méthodes d'Enseignement.* Paris. 1830 et 1831.

3. *Prospectus de l'Ecole Orthomatique fondée par la Société des Méthodes d'Enseignement.* Paris. 1830.

4. *Instruction du Peuple Français: livres vendus au prix coutant; sous les soins de la Société des Méthodes d'Enseignement.* No. 1 à No. 18. Paris. 1830 et 1831.

5. *La Sentinelle du Peuple, feuille politique, agricole, et industrielle. Journal Hebdomadaire.* Paris.

6. *Le Père de Famille, Journal de la Société d'Instruction Populaire, manuel périodique, progressif, instructif, et amusant, destiné à améliorer la condition physique, morale et intellectuelle du peuple des Villes et des Campagnes.* Première et deuxième Livraisons. Juillet et Aout, 1831. Paris. 8vo.

We are desirous of calling attention to some efforts that are making in Paris for the communication to the people of France of general information, and especially of that sort of knowledge which they are the most in need of. Amidst the political unquietness which characterized the last year of the reign of the exiled sovereign, and the violent agitation of parties that has distracted the career of the citizen-king, there have not been wanting men of sufficient zeal and ability to devote a large portion of their time to the advancement of the permanent interest of their countrymen, having before their eyes the certain good which

the diffusion of intelligence cannot fail to produce, be the ministers and forms of government who and what they may. It may be useful to give some account of the publications which these efforts have brought forth—publications remarkable neither for the science nor erudition displayed in them, but having the modest, and in our eyes, the far higher, merit of the benevolent tendency of their declared object.

The various societies that have for some years been in action in France for philanthropical purposes are probably well known to most of our readers. But there was ample room for an association proposing to itself to inquire for, to examine, and to propagate the best methods of instruction, embracing every thing belonging to education, whether moral or physical, scientific or technical, or of what kind soever. With this view a society was formed in Paris, in 1829, under the title of *La Société des Méthodes d'Enseignement*, and its labours have been regularly continued, in reviewing dispassionately old systems, in examining without scruple new theories, and in trying practically the many methods that are constantly discovered, or pretended so to be discovered, in substitution of former ones. The society, in fact, tries to bring education to something near the level of a science, and the discussions at its meetings, (at which we have been present,) are well calculated to rouse observations and excite ideas of a nature to afford strong hopes of the real progress of that science. Gratuitous lectures have been established for the benefit of persons engaged in business, in the various branches of natural history, chemistry, law, moral philosophy, public economy, philology, &c. which have been successful. A most important institution, called *L' Ecole Orthomatique*, was founded by the society in October, 1829, and has now in it about sixty boys, whose education is conducted in what the society consider to be the most rational manner, under the constant superintendence of a committee of five of its members. It is a day school, at the rate of twenty francs a month, and the instruction given at present extends to reading, writing, drawing, music, gymnastics, the French, English, and Latin languages, arithmetic, geometry, natural history, geography, and book-keeping. Arrangements are making to add instruction in higher branches of knowledge, and in matters of social utility; but the school, as it is, cannot but be regarded as a very interesting example of the improvement of which the system of teaching is susceptible. The Ecole Orthomathique is carried on on the principle, not of fear, but of love. There are no punishments of any kind, but the feeling of emulation is roused by a judicious distribution of rewards. The masters and boys do not live in a state of war, but rather like

fathers and children; so that there is no necessity for the perpetual practice by the latter of those deceits and stratagems which originate from a system of terror, and seldom fail to demoralize the character in after-life. The society, justly regarding that education to be the best that conveys to the pupil the strongest sense of his moral and social duties, study rather the formation of a sound mind in a sound body, than the cramming the boy's head with a given quantum of information in a given time. We are assured that, in this school, moral offences, such as lying, are wholly unknown; and of the general disposition of the boys we judged most favourably from a visit to them in company with the president of the society, the Count de Lasteyrie. We shall never forget the joy with which this venerable and excellent man was received, at the institution that owes to him its origin, by his young comrades, for to these boys he has been always, as they well know, the comrade and the friend. Humanity owes so much to this unwearied philanthropist, that in speaking of him as the originator of the society, and the mainspring of all its movements, we are sure we speak the sentiments of every one in this country who knows him, when we wish him still the enjoyment of a long and useful career for the good of his species for whom he has already done so much. The school owes much also to General Lafayette, to the Duc de Broglie, M. Lafitte, and other distinguished persons who take an interest in its progress.*

But this is not all that the society has done. It has been the means also of publishing a series of excellent little works proper to be read in schools, and to belong to popular libraries, selling them at the cost price, which is often as low as ten centimes, or less than a penny, for thirty-two pages of matter. So far as these publications have gone, we think the society has succeeded in furnishing, in a familiar manner, information of a practically useful character, and tending to impress sound principles on the minds of the lower orders of the people. The first and third Numbers consist of extracts from the works of Franklin. The second is a selection of national poetry, such as *La Marseillaise*, *Le Chant du Depart*, by Chenier, *Le Reveil du Peuple*, by Souriguières, *La Parisienne*, and other pieces fitted to keep the flame of patriotism burning in the breast of every Frenchman. No. 4. consists of extracts from the works of Vauvenargues, a military officer who died in the beginning of the last century, leaving be-

* Some additional particulars of the Ecole Orthomatique will be found in a pamphlet which we have met with since writing this Article, intituled "*Popular Education in France*," by J. H. Moggridge. It is worth perusal in many respects, and we are sorry it does not enter more fully into the subject.

hind him a mass of Reflections, founded less on learning than on common sense, and remarkable for their practical wisdom. Of the merit of this writer, so little read in England, an opinion may be formed from the estimation in which he was held by Marmontel, who says, "He was always in the right, and yet no one was humiliated by him. Mild, sensible, compassionate, he held our souls in his hands. A lively and deep sense of the force which virtue gives, sustained and consoled him;" and Voltaire, in his Elogy on the officers who lost their lives in the war of 1741, says of Vauvenargues, "I think there will be found in his book more than a hundred Thoughts which characterize the noblest soul, and one the most profoundly philosophical,—the most perfectly free from all party spirit." The reflections of such a man have been well chosen as landmarks in philosophy for the people. No. 5 is a natural history of the dog, written by Count de Lasteyrie, with a simplicity and plainness of style that remind us more than ever of the difficulty of the task of writing so as to be understood by those whose minds are in a state different from that of the writer. There are some entertaining stories in the series, such as *L' Histoire du Petit Jacques, Les Œufs de Pâques, Robinson Crusoe,* and selections from the Fables of Æsop and La Fontaine; there is a Number on popular arithmetic, and a first Reading Book; also a valuable collection of instructions for the preservation and recovery of health, and another, almost as useful, containing advice on conduct in society and in business. Fenélon's Abridgement of the Lives of the Ancient Philosophers has been reprinted in the series, and there are three Numbers devoted to the inculcation of morality, viz. *Les Devoirs de l'Homme et du Citoyen, Instructions élémentaires sur la Morale,* and *Principes de Morale, Extraits des anciens auteurs Grecs.*

The Society does not propose to give any religious instruction, not considering it a part of its duty to interfere with the province of the church. Without venturing an opinion whether there is in France any real want of elementary religious books, we feel assured the society has done wisely in not attempting such a task, and indeed it may be doubted whether lay associations ever do much good in taking upon themselves the business of the clergy. It would, indeed, be fortunate if the exertions of the French clergy for the intellectual improvement of their flocks were equal to the influence they still possess over a people the mass of whom, in the rural districts at least, are still attached to that ancient faith which has assuredly not become the less venerable, since its connection with the state has been dissolved under the new order of things.

The journal, *La Sentinelle du Peuple,* was established for the

sole purpose of setting before the lower orders, plainly and truly, passing events. It appears weekly in Paris, on Sundays, and a country edition is published every Thursday evening. The price is only twenty sous a month, or twelve francs a year, and it contains the ordinary quantity of matter of a Paris journal. The country edition has always an article on agriculture, or rural affairs, and there is information on domestic economy and the like topics. The principles of the paper are those of liberty and equality, and it urges the full development of the Revolution of July. It is not connected with the *Société des Modes d'Enseignement*, but is supported by a separate association with a capital of 60,000 francs, divided into fifty shares of 1200 francs each, the shares being subdivided into coupons of 300 francs, and demi-coupons of 150 francs each. The best results may be anticipated, if this journal should succeed as it ought. The superior facilities offered to the diffusion of knowledge in France, by the comparative absence of that oppressive system of taxation which our government still thinks fit to uphold in this country, afford a much better prospect of success to such an enterprise there than here. An experiment, with a somewhat similar view was, we understand, tried lately in London, by a benevolent and public-spirited individual, under the title of the "Englishman's Register," and, although it was discontinued, we are informed the sale was such, that, if it had been supported by an association, and the taxes on knowledge had not existed, its success would have been certain.

The magazine called *Le Père de Famille*, is the principal organ of the *Société d'Instruction Public*. It appears monthly, and consists of forty-eight pages of matter, the subscription being twelve francs a year for Paris and twelve francs and eighty centimes for the departments. The first Number contains an historical chronicle of the events of the month—rules for the preservation of health—and practical remedies against various injuries—an article on vaccination, and one on the rearing and education of children—a lesson on morals, and one on constitutional rights—a sketch of the history of agriculture in France—an agricultural and a horticultural calendar for the month—some recipes in domestic economy—remedies for the disorders of artisans—an exposure of some popular prejudices,—and a few entertaining anecdotes. The contents of the second Number are of the same kind. Now, we can imagine no publication more likely to be acceptable to the middle and lower orders than this, and hope not only that it will meet with every encouragement, but that it will be the example for an undertaking of a similar kind in this country. There are so few difficulties in the way of a magazine,

in comparison with those attached to a newspaper, that we are convinced that a well-conducted popular magazine could hardly fail to be a profitable speculation to any one who would undertake it. We see many defects in the *Père de Famille*, which it would be easy to supply or correct, but we are sure its plan may be followed in some respects with advantage. Miscellanies are, of all sorts of works, those which appear the most to gratify the present taste of the public.

A plan, projected by Count de Lasteyrie, has been for some months in agitation, for placing a popular library in each of the communes or parishes in France. We are sorry to learn that, owing to political agitation, no great progress has been made in carrying this useful design into execution, but there are hopes that the government will eventually be induced to lend it their aid. If the Perier administration should remain in office, it may probably be stimulated by the recollection of its defeat on the 12th of August last, when M. Cormenin's amendment to the address, declaratory of the necessity of providing for the people the benefit of gratuitous primary instruction, was carried by a respectable majority of the Chamber of Deputies, though an arrangement for the variation of the terms of such amendment was subsequently made. How far primary instruction could at present be provided *gratuitously*, is perhaps a difficult question; but the French government should remember that an outlay of the public money for the production of the greatest possible good that could be done to the mass of the people, would be the truest system of public economy on which they could act.

Having now given some instances of the interest which is felt in France for the welfare of the lower orders, we take leave to add a few words upon the state of things in our own country in this respect. Every one must be sensible of the lamentable deficiency of useful books written with sufficient plainness and familiarity, and sold at prices cheap enough, to spread information widely amongst our poorer classes. The *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* has, by its own admission, failed to fulfil its original intention, though it has been the means of bringing so many and so excellent publications into the world. What has been done by individuals, such as by Mr. Limbird of the Strand, amounts to but very little; and although there are books in existence, more or less calculated for popular use, many of which, such as the volumes of the Dublin Kildare Street Society's Tracts have already been, in some degree, made available, still the promoters of education are constantly at a loss what books to provide, or what to recommend. It is obvious that there is wanting some

machinery for the regular and systematic diffusion of information upon a scale far more extensive than has hitherto been attempted. There is need of some uniform and comprehensive plan, that should operate with a steady force throughout the country, for the enlightening the minds of the people.

It is possible that, by association, much might be done both towards the circulation of cheap publications, and the formation of popular libraries. The existence already of societies for public instruction, (originally called Political Unions,) in various parts of the country, affords a proof of the increasing desire of knowledge, and a foundation on which an edifice of still greater good may be reared. The friends of order and peace should regard it as of high importance that the views of these Political Unions should be turned from the exclusive consideration of politics, to the comprehension of literary and scientific objects within the scope of their institutions. Nothing is less humanizing than the constant habit of absorbing the mind in the political discussions of the day. Persons of education cannot be insensible to the ill effects of such an absorption; and it must, therefore, be doubly mischievous to the ignorant, whose polemical violence is not likely to be controlled by the reflection,

> "How small, of all the ills mankind endure,
> That part which kings, or laws, can cause or cure!"

But the great point is, whether the cause of education is not entitled to ask something at the hands of the government, or rather of the legislature? The evil of ignorance is one of the greatest that can afflict humanity, and it is to be feared that such evil cannot be averted without the aid of a law, whereby education may be rendered compulsory. In the United States, in the Prussian dominions, and elsewhere in Germany, the law does not suffer parents so far to neglect the interests of their children, and consequently of society, as to suffer their minds to remain in a state of barbarism, after the manner of savages. So it ought to be with us. Provision should be made for affording the benefit of schools to our whole population, and it should be a penal offence in any parents to neglect to send thither their offspring. If government be instituted for anything more than a mere engine of police, it ought to be invested, in a special department, with the care of the public instruction. Should there be any who deny that the government ought to be charged with such a care, we beg to ask them why it watches over the public health—why it interferes for the protection of trade—why it executes public works and buildings—why it upholds an established religion—why, in

short, it interposes in a thousand ways whereby it is anticipated that the general welfare may be advanced? To the extent of supplying the deficiency of primary schools, and enforcing their use, as well as of the establishment of popular libraries, it does appear to us that the interposition of the legislature is imperatively called for by the necessities of the country, and the result of such interposition would, we are convinced, be a happier one than could be produced by any other measure of social amelioration.

It is understood that a bill has been prepared by direction of the Lord Chancellor, for the setting on foot, among us, of Parochial Libraries, to be charged on the parish rates. A well-digested measure of this kind, whenever it may be brought forward, will assuredly tend to strengthen the Whigs in the confidence of the country, but would do so still more if accompanied by an Education Bill. The ministers are, we trust, aware that much disappointment has existed at the slow progress of the promised relief from the taxes that impede the diffusion of knowledge, and they should, above all things, beware of allowing an impression to get abroad, that they are somewhat indifferent to the whole subject of public instruction. A government whose tenure of office depends on popular favour, ought not to be slow to take the lead in measures of so decidedly a beneficial, as well as popular character. The tide of public opinion is flowing so strongly against the ancient system of closing from the people the avenues of truth, that those who govern either England or France in the nineteenth century cannot safely carry "*le juste milieu*" as their motto, but must in this respect drink deep, or taste not, of reform. The work of destruction is likely to proceed with rapidity; but it is the mission of governments not only to destroy, but to fulfil. What task can be more noble—what ought to be more grateful—than that of dispelling the mists which blind the eyes of the ignorant, and opening upon the people that pure and steady light of knowledge, which is so inexhaustible, and continually increasing, a source of human happiness?

ART. VII.—Ludwig von Beethoven. *Eine Biographie desselben, verbunden mit Urtheilen über seine Werke; herausgegeben zur erwirkung eines Monuments für dessen Lehrer Joseph Haydn*, von Joh. Aloys Schlosser. (A Biography of Louis von Beethoven, to which are added Criticisms upon his Works. Published for the purpose of raising a monument to his master, Joseph Haydn. By Joh. Aloys Schlosser.) 12mo. Prague. 1828.

THERE cannot be stronger evidence of the subtle nature of musical thought, than that out of the multitude of composers who strive and labour incessantly to gain honourable distinctions in the art of music, so few are destined to exercise upon it a strong and permanent influence. By a long series only of successful efforts calculated to display the same genius in a variety of attitudes, by fresh difficulties proposed and vanquished in never-ending succession, can the composer create an era in his art; and fortunate would it be for hundreds, if patience and perseverance would ensure high fame; but of a host of people who have endured the constant thought, toil, and irritation which are incident to the musician's profession, the name of one alone shall ring throughout Europe, while all the others are condemned to languish in some obscure corner of a biographical dictionary. Many an artist is awakened out of the agreeable dream of ambition at a time of life when it is too late to begin any thing fresh, and then first becomes fully aware of the unpleasing truth that he has no genius—in the true signification of the word—that he has mistaken his talents and mis-spent his time—that nature intended him for an admirer of the beautiful, but not for a creator of it. Others, more happy, dream out their lives, and die in the delusion that they possess invention. Seeing that nature has so much more bountifully bestowed a susceptibility to musical beauty, and a desire to communicate impressions (which provoke men to attempt composition) than the romantic genius, (the power of investing common things with something rich and strange, which should be its sole warrant,) it would have been a kind of cruelty in her to deny all reward to the plodding patience and industry, and the respectable talent by which the bulk of artists in every age is distinguished. Accordingly there is a second or third-rate immortality, a niche among the *Dii minorum gentium* for those who, having spent their lives in straining after excellence, have been now and then happy enough to hit the mark. The contemplation of such spirits as Mozart and Beethoven renders the musician's devotion to his art a very pure and refined feeling, totally divested of any selfish consideration; for these men, proposing to themselves objects far

beyond any that had entered the imagination of other artists, and succeeding as marvellously in the completion of their designs as in their conception while they elevated music into a grander and more intellectual art, necessarily made its cultivation more difficult, and placed it further out of the reach of such as should follow them. Yet who would basely wish a note unwritten in any work of these masters, for the sake of an additional chance for himself? who is there, indeed, who does not feel grateful to them for having made failure honourable? It is characteristic of the epochs created by both these artists, that at their decease music seemed to have run its course; originality of melody, design, and style, seemed exhausted, and nothing remained for future times save the imitation, at a humble distance, of their too perfect models. But the temporary stagnation which is to be observed at certain periods of musical history, lasts only until nature is pleased to present us with a man of genius. Thus we find that the resources of instrumental music, which seemed to be dissipated by Mozart, received fresh vigour from Beethoven; Weber also opened a new vein of interest in the dramatic style, and excited passion afresh, without interfering with any of those discoveries which peculiarly belong to the great head and master of the modern German school. The inference is obvious; whenever an artist asserts that the springs of harmony and melody have run dry, it is a sure proof of his own short-sightedness and want of invention, and the truly original and beautiful styles which are from time to time invented even in these days, must, we fear, put to the blush the most disappointed man who would fain console himself at the expense of the art. It would save much bitterness and many after-repinings, now that the musical profession is often adopted from motives of vanity, even unaccompanied by love, that the young artist should seriously consider how great a thing it is to be a composer. Has he the power to get rid of *himself*? Is he free of the ideal world, and does he live apart, in communion with fancies akin to the most subtle refinements of poetry? Without the faculty of abstraction, all his sensibility, industry, and patience, will but leave him one of those small geniuses who hover perpetually in the same track, and seek in vain to break loose from the enchanted circle which confines their ideas. He may be a Beethoven or Mozart for *once* in his life, but he will have spent himself in the effort. It is the inexhaustible variety of these masters, their perpetual welling-up of subjects of most "unlike resemblance," which is the wonder of their genius, and shows that they have been

> "List'ning to what unshorn Apollo sings
> To th' touch of golden wires."

Weber, in some measure, lets us into the secret of this variety, when he asserts that he never saw a beautiful landscape that did not produce in his mind a train of corresponding musical associations. A universal sympathy, and the faculty of expressing it in forms as multifarious as the aspects of nature—remote ideas instinct with truth—the power of awakening in a phrase of melody, a long train of dormant feelings which seem before to have wanted their true expression; these are qualities sufficient to account for the rarity of high musical genius, and especially so when it becomes necessary to suppose them refined by a tedious education, and an experience in the details of art the most painfully minute. The herd of musicians are but the almsmen of the great masters,* and exist upon their superfluous wealth; they are the dogs eating the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. How many has not Mozart, Beethoven, and even Weber set up? An acquaintance with musicians, great and small, and a thorough intimacy with the difficulties of composition, are necessary to the estimate of Beethoven—a meteor, at the brilliancy of whose track Europe has hardly yet recovered its amazement. Fancy and feeling were in him full to overflowing; the characteristics of his genius are an almost unprecedented exuberance of imagination, and a peculiarly penetrating and searching quality of melody. Within himself he possessed all variety. At one time charming by a noble simplicity which impressed the most unpractised ear, at another, running into extremes of the wild and fantastic, which mystified even educated musicians, no composer ever more embarrassed and divided the judgment, and it is not surprising to find that among the more vulgar of practical musicians, Beethoven was actually supposed to be a madman, with occasional lucid intervals! This notion prevailed here about fifteen years ago, upon the appearance of some trios for the piano-forte, violin and bass, in a style so unprecedented, and at that time so extravagant, that good people, aided by vague rumours of the eccentric life of the author, retailed here by travellers from Vienna, hastened to the short, easy and charitable conclusion that the author was lunatic. But "there is more between heaven and earth than dreamt of in their philosophy." Music is now in a state to afford a clue to the meaning of elaborate compositions which before seemed to be one labyrinth of inextricable doubt and error; and we would fain hope that such of Beethoven's later works as still remain incomprehensible, are only conceived in some exalted region of the fancy beyond the flight of ordinary

* Mozart, who never wrote any thing superfluous, compliments, in a letter, one of his acquaintance for *composing with his own ideas*—as if this were a singular virtue in musical authors.

imagination. When the solution of difficulties is found in the gradual refinement and progress of an intellectual taste, such a deduction is surely not unreasonable, and we confidently expect that time will dispel the mists which yet envelope the composer's meaning in his posthumous quartets, his last grand mass, and his symphony with a chorus—works in which he has pushed to extremity the usual license and audacity of his harmony, and which have produced a vast deal of debate and many ingenious hypotheses. We are sticklers for the orthodoxy of the canons of composition, certainly not from any affection for pedantic mysteries, but because we believe them to be founded on the principles of correct taste and feeling. Beethoven, though accounting himself free from the restraint of rules, has not so often abused this liberty as to become chargeable with constant incorrectness, and we apprehend no favourable argument will be drawn from him by those who would have the laws of harmony revised, if not *repealed*. It will be seen by our brief memoir that his musical education was solid and scientific, and that it was after being a graduate in the systems of the schools, that his style was formed. If, in the indulgence of so vast an imagination, in the pursuit of ideal beauty, and of surprising and grand effects, he risked every thing towards the emotion he would create, with comparatively few trespasses upon rules, he is only another proof of the propriety of their institution, though we admit that no one among the great composers has better shown when, and how far, they may give way with advantage. Among the crowd of Beethoven's imitators, there are some who ape the extravagances of his imagination, purely that they may conceal their defects of real science, and who are *wild*, only from inability to produce what is correct, symmetrical and beautiful. Indeed, to many artists, the lustre of Beethoven's effects has proved but a will-o'-the-wisp—they have followed its guidance, and have been left in the mire. Some of these, supposing that the true secret of the composer's fascination lay in the ugliness of a passage on its first hearing, and remembering that Beethoven's symphonies were not liked at first and now *are* liked, concluded that repetition not only wore off the first impression, but even changed it entirely. They therefore congratulated themselves when they had made a good hideous composition, and saw that it was very much disliked, flattering themselves that it would be greatly relished when often heard. Unfortunately, the insensate public have seldom taken the pains to renew the trial, and by refusing to have merit dinned into them, have left neglected genius to pine in the belief that success can only be obtained by what Falstaff calls "damnable iteration." It is a pitiable delusion: the musical public (properly so called)

have an instinct which does not mislead them in judging between performances which have a meaning, though they perceive it not, and such as from first to last can only be found vacant.

Ludwig van Beethoven was the son of a tenor player in the service of the Elector of Cologne, and was born at Bonn, in the year 1772. Like most of our great composers, he gave signs of talent in infancy; readily quitting his companions and play when he heard his father preluding on the piano-forte, listening to him always with great attention and pleasure, and often begging him to continue when his music was finished. The greatest treat he could have was to be taken on his father's knee, and his own little fingers directed upon the keys proper to form the accompaniment to a song: these notes he would afterwards retrace alone, with such accuracy, that at five years old it was deemed necessary to think of regular and serious instruction for him. His father at first undertook the task himself, but such was the boy's progress that he soon required a master of more experience and skill. The organist to the Court, Van der Eden, was the best player upon the *clavier* that Bonn could produce, but the elder Beethoven was in no condition to pay for his instructions. This difficulty was, however, got over, by Van der Eden offering to give the child gratuitous lessons; but as he was much occupied by the duties of his situation in the electoral chapel, young Beethoven gained little advantage from his promise. However, his progress continued, and he was known throughout Bonn as an extraordinary child. The Elector having heard him, was so struck with surprise and delight that he charged Van der Eden to give him a daily lesson at his expense—a favour which was attended with the happiest consequences, and the boy soon performed both in the chapel and in the private apartments of the Elector. In the year 1782, Van der Eden died, and was succeeded as court organist by Christian Gottlob Neefe, who was commanded by the Elector to make the formation of young Beethoven's talent his particular concern. Neefe was a man of excellent character, open-hearted and friendly, and the best master that could have been chosen. He was not unacquainted with his pupil's ability; he rejoiced in the task which had been delegated to him, and exerted himself the more from the great affection which the boy took to him, and the diligence he used to reward his pains. The compositions of Neefe certainly do not display either the power or the brilliancy of high genius; they could therefore have had nothing to do with a revolution in art, or have even influenced the progress of taste. They show, incontrovertibly, talent, knowledge and feeling; and it follows that he might easily have been better suited to his employment than a man of a higher

order. Neefe soon directed his scholar to the source of the purest taste, in the works of Sebastian Bach, and put him into a method of conquering the great difficulties inseparable from their execution. In his eleventh year he played Bach's Collection of Fugues and Preludes in all the keys major and minor, entitled *Das wohltempirte Klavier* (The well-tempered or tuned Clavier); and when we consider how much labour it costs even artists to perform these fugues in a manner fit to be heard, it may be imagined what expectations were formed of a boy who executed them to the universal admiration of judges.

Beethoven's first attempt at composition was made in his ninth year, but as Van der Eden had given him no insight into the rules, it may be naturally supposed that he could produce nothing correct. The cognoscenti, however, ventured to predict great things of him, and the prophecy has not wanted fulfilment. About this period, nine variations upon a march, three sonatas, and some songs of his composition, were printed in Mannheim, which, though mere attempts, do honour to the young composer. As he had already far distanced both his masters in execution upon the piano-forte, and appeared also favourably disposed for organ-playing, the Elector designed him successor to Neefe, and at his own expense despatched him to Vienna, to be perfected in the art of composition under Haydn. Mozart was just dead. A strong attachment took place between the master and scholar: Bach was again studied, and Beethoven now first learned fully to comprehend him. Along with his own works, Haydn introduced those of Handel and Mozart, and by constantly discussing the highest beauties of the art, quickly formed a refined and elegant taste in his pupil; the course of their studies was however interrupted by Haydn's journey to London in 1795, and the young musician from that period was turned over to the care of the learned contrapuntist Albrechtsberger. Beethoven had in his native city acquired the rudiments of the Latin, Italian and French languages; he now perfected his knowledge of them, and added that of the English; his favourite recreation was the reading of history, for which to his death he retained a strong attachment, and to this study he brought a memory so remarkable, that not only were events, but even the manner of the narration was easily registered there. When he had reached maturity, the principal attraction of the artist centered in his piano-forte playing, the triumph of which was his extemporaneous performance, and the art of varying a theme unpremeditatedly.

In 1801, Beethoven suddenly lost his patron and benefactor, and with him the prospect of a settlement in Bonn, an event he the more regretted on account of its involving a separation from

his family, to whom he bore a lively affection. Though now thrown upon his own resources, his compositions, which were eagerly sought by the music-shops, procured him ample provision, and banished all uneasiness as to the means of income; he was not even obliged to teach. Strongly solicited, he was indeed induced to gratify many of his friends with his advice, but this was done purely from good-will, nor could the composer be prevailed upon to receive any remuneration. Beethoven at this time accepted an engagement which obliged him to reside with a noble family at Vienna, but some unforeseen disagreeables on both sides soon caused an arrangement to be broken up which was peculiarly unsuited to a man of his independence and uncourtier-like habits—one living apart too in the abstractions of music. In this unsettled state of his affairs, he frequently cast an eye towards England, whither his old companion, the inimitable contra-bassist Dragonetti, had already gone, and where his compositions were still more highly prized than in Germany. The strong solicitations he received to settle in this country might probably have influenced him, had not the removal of his two brothers into Austria, in whose society he promised himself much happiness, thrown a decisive weight into the contrary scale. Besides, it was uncertain whether the cheapness and the sociality of Vienna would be advantageously exchanged for the more splendid offers but expensive living of England. He continued therefore in Vienna, composing, and playing in public concerts and private parties, and although his performance was not the most delicate, and was sometimes even awkward, he obtained greater reputation in Vienna as an artist upon the piano-forte than even as a composer. In his improvisation, the difficulty appeared to be, to make his fingers execute the conceptions of his fancy—the warmth of his ideas so much overtasked them, that there was not unfrequently produced a semblance of bungling execution. His method of varying a theme extemporaneously reminded many of Mozart. Besides the patronage of the Princess Lobkowitz and Kinsky, and the Archduke Rudolph, who allowed him a pension for life, on condition of his never exchanging Austria for a foreign land, and the sum he received for the copyright of his works, he had many considerable presents for dedications. The late Empress of Russia, after the performance of his Battle of Vittoria symphony, during the congress, sent him 200 ducats as a mark of regard. The impression which has gone abroad that Beethoven was at times in uneasy circumstances, is altogether erroneous; he had enough for the highest comfort of an artist's life—he lived above care—in a very different state from Mozart. True it is, that he had other bitternesses in his cup—for he was an unhappy lover, and, to

make the matter worse, lost his hearing—an accident which led to his almost total seclusion from society, and confined him to intercourse with such friends as he mostly knew well enough to read what they would say upon their faces. This misfortune to the artist sent him with redoubled vigour to composition; the piano-forte was set aside; he began to live wholly to himself and to his art, and to revolve in his loneliness the most original and daring plans. He was seldom heard to complain of his isolated condition. Beethoven's deafness was not a sudden calamity, or the effect, as some have supposed, of a casualty, but a gradual decline of the powers of the ear, originating probably in the excessive sensibility of that organ. The defect at first appeared on his entrance into manhood, but in a very small degree; it however increased constantly, and at last arrived at such a pitch as to prevent all further communication with him except by means of writing, for the ear-trumpet occasioned him pain, and was, moreover, insufficient for its purpose. All attempts to discover the source of the evil, and to remedy it, proved fruitless; for composition he retained as much ability as before. The calamity, however, was a great drawback from his execution as a piano-forte player, by increasing the indistinctness of his performance. His voice, too, was affected sympathetically with his ear; although it would never please in singing, before he became deaf, it was at least well-toned in speaking,—subsequently it became somewhat harsh. Any one skilled in the characteristics of physiognomy would have received at the first sight of Beethoven, the conviction of an extraordinary being. In the emotion and expression of his mouth, the brilliancy of his eye, and in the breadth of his ample forehead, (the true seat of poetical invention,) there were found infallible signs of his genius. His face, during the cheerful intercourse of friendship, wore a character of the most perfect goodness, and his laugh was cordiality and sincerity itself.

Beethoven has been supposed to have been unpolished and rude in his behaviour, which is not true; he was certainly not a *fashionable* man, according to the standards of London and Vienna; like many other great artists, he was eccentric—but he was not ill-mannered. He was as strong a partisan of his native music against the pretensions of the Italians as Mozart. In his person and dress he was clean and neat, neither in the extremes of old or new fashion, and in his dwelling there was always the greatest cleanliness, though the Viennese used to complain of a certain want of *gentlemanly* order in the arrangement of it. The gentlemanly objectors were, however, very far from knowing Beethoven, or what was becoming in the furniture of his apartments: looking after a sofa they might miss a symphony. Every

spring he went into the country to compose in the open air, for Beethoven was one of Horace's tribe:—"*Scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus, et fugit urbes.*" His return to town was in the latter part of autumn, and by these constant journeyings backwards and forwards he was necessarily obliged to remain a considerable time in a place before he could bring his papers into order. And who would think of costly furniture or of style in the lodgings of a migratory bachelor, and above all of one like Beethoven? Great as the genius of the composer was, it was surpassed by the goodness of his heart, which was possessed with an unconquerable detestation of all falsehood, meanness, vanity, and avarice, in a word, of the suspicion of an unworthy thing. One of his most beautiful characteristics was his attachment to his family: for the two brothers who followed him into Austria he did every thing possible to advance their interests. When one of them, who had an official appointment, died, he received his son into his house, spared no expense to procure him a good education, and even sacrificed to him his freedom and peace of mind. The constitution of Beethoven in youth was robust—but in the latter part of his life it was much broken-down by care and sorrow. For the last six months he received the constant assistance of a physician, who contrived to alleviate his pain, though it was impossible to restore him to health. His illness terminated in a dropsy, which caused inexpressible suffering. Beethoven bore it with resolution, supported by the proofs of sympathy he received on all sides. During his last days the surgical measures resorted to greatly increased the violence of his anguish—but his death was a gentle slumber. This took place on the 26th of March, 1827, in the 56th year of his age. The exequies of Beethoven were performed with many honours, and a long musical procession, chaunting a dirge arranged from his own celebrated March on the Death of a Hero, attended the corpse to its place of repose, which is a cemetery in one of the pleasantest country roads out of Vienna. The laurel wreath, appropriately offered to musician-poets in this country, was dropped into his grave by Hummel, and we may imagine with what feelings, when we know that he had been an old friend of the composer, but separated from him by one of those unaccountable misunderstandings which sometimes estrange the most cordial and sympathetic spirits, and which in this case only left him time to make his peace, and to assume his office in the last sad ceremonies over his friend. A short time before Beethoven's death, the Abbé Stadler was engaged in a controversy with Gottfried Weber, brother of the celebrated composer, respecting the authenticity of some of the passages in Mozart's Requiem. In an autograph letter of the volume before

us, we find by what a powerful auxiliary the opinion of the venerable Abbé was reinforced—and we give the substance of it merely for the sake of recording Beethoven's sentiments upon Mozart, which are yet new to the musical public, and not on account of Gottfried Weber, or of any notions which *he* may entertain, as we confidently believe, that whenever the world may be deprived of that gentleman, no very great vacuum will be left either in art or literature. We have omitted the musical extracts, the scrawl in which they are written not sufficiently indicating where the force of the critical objections lies.

"MOST REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

"You have indeed acted well, and done much service as well as great justice to Madame Mozart, through your very masterly and acute little work, for which I am persuaded that both the composer and the amateur, and all indeed who have interest in musical knowledge, are your debtors. There is nothing at all, or a vast deal, required in the examination of such a subject. Can Mr. Gottfried Weber, who has, as I understand, written a work on composition, attribute a passage like the following to Mozart? . . . . When we consider such a passage as this of his own writing . . . . Mr. G. Weber's surprising knowledge of harmony and melody reminds us of the style of the old long-deceased composers of middle Germany—Sterkel, Nümeyer, Kalkbrenner (the father), André, &c. . . . . *Requiescant in pace.*

"I, in particular, my dear friend, return you sincere thanks for the pleasure your work has afforded me, having always accounted myself among the most ardent admirers of Mozart, and feeling that I shall remain so to my latest breath.

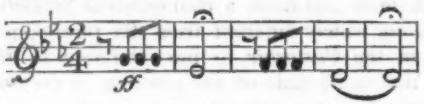
BEETHOVEN."

It has been justly observed by an acute German critic, that under the name of music, considered as an independent art, we should understand instrumental music only, which, free from the shackles of verse, and pure from all admixture or foreign aid, can alone express the *propre* of the art. Much of the originality and beauty of modern music is attributable to the felicitous employment of instruments; the ideas of composers keep pace with the ability of performers, and the character of its compositions for instruments is the test of the refinement of an age in musical taste. The human voice is, at best, but circumscribed—its powers are little calculated to impel the art forward; but in instruments, there is gained, from mechanical skill and scientific research, a lever wherewith to move the world. Every improvement in modern music, nay, even that of the human organ itself, its more remarkable flexibility, and more just intonation, may be traced to the influence of instrumental composition and performance, and first in this department of music must be considered the symphony. The very name of Beethoven brings into the mind a crowd of

exquisite subjects from his symphonies, which prove how firmly his fame is erected on their foundation. Under this composer and Mozart, the *adagio* attained a high vocal and sentimental character, which it certainly wanted in the earlier symphonies of Haydn—compositions abounding, indeed, in spirit, fancy, and ingenuity, but not of a kind to enrol the author among the great triumvirate; this distinction he more honourably earned, we think, in his twelve symphonies for Salomon, and his *Passione*, a series of slow movements, in which the poetical gusto of Mozart is fairly rivalled. The instrumental style demands peculiar qualifications, and admits of no mediocrity. Mozart led the way in it, and was the first to complete a model of the symphony, but his genius, all passion and voluptuous grace, though divine, is touched with too many human sympathies, and his "music, yearning like a god in pain," left much to Beethoven, who, if we would give his spirit a form and habitation, should have that face of calm, conscious, power, which distinguishes the sculptured heroes and demi-gods of antiquity. As it is the characteristic of eminent composers to outstep the judgment of their age, it is not surprising to find that the excellencies of Beethoven were for a long time warmly contested; but it was in this nebulous atmosphere of England, (according to M. Fétis, most unfavourable to music,) that they were first acknowledged. Every season of the Philharmonic Society brought over new converts, and even Salomon, the personal friend of Haydn and Mozart, and who upheld their superiority with the zeal of a political partisan, was at last fairly a renegade. Beethoven's earlier symphonies—the Numbers 1 and 2, for instance—in certain passages show the composer assaying his unfledged wings; but they do not indicate the extent and boldness of his flight. In the slow movements, particularly that of the second, there is a foretaste of the delicious indefinable emotion which possesses the hearer in the performance of his adagios—but in both, beyond the choice of an unusual time $\frac{4}{4}$, with here and there a characteristic transition or so—there is nothing widely different from the physiognomy of Mozart. But in the *Pastorale*, in the symphony in B flat, in the *Andante* of that in A, and last and chiefest, in the energy of that sublime production the symphony in C minor, we have pure Beethoven, and a revolution of style so complete, that by no construction possible can the ideas be attributed to other masters, or the smallest share be claimed in them. And herein is the glory of Beethoven's invention—that he followed Mozart, the musician who has made the strongest appeals to the sensibility, and by means totally *new*, attained the same end, and not less powerfully affected his hearers. To show properly the distinction

of style between Mozart and Beethoven would call for a lengthened disquisition, and many citations from their works, not altogether suited to the character of this publication; but yet, avoiding technicalities, something may be said upon this subject not unworthy of the amateur's attention. Under Beethoven the first movement grew more wild, and the *scherzo* (an invention, by the way, of his own) more capricious than the most playful minuet of his predecessors. In the second parts of his *allegros*, he at first seems like one in a reverie, and following no settled plan, but more intimate acquaintance with his music serves to show that in the wildest of his effusions there is a prevailing order and symmetry, and that it is greatly by means of his extraordinary and fanciful episodes that his novelty is effected. He appears to deem it sufficient that the main features of a work shall be conformable to the laws of order: in artfully veiling the rest of his design he only carries forward what Mozart began, who did not choose that the conduct of his compositions should be too palpable, or that his whole plan should reveal itself at once, and provoke no curiosity or examination. Beethoven's symphonies, notwithstanding their unintelligibility at first hearing, are really remarkable for their simplicity as well as for the roughness and grand effect of their instrumentation. It was the *style* that embarrassed musicians, most of whom have a nervous horror of committing their taste upon any thing new. They were not so well provided as that prudent lord commemorated by our English Pindar, who, wishing to know when to disapprove at the Opera, took an Italian singer with him, with directions whenever he should find

> " A singer's voice above or under pitch,
> To touch his toe or give his arm a twitch."

And really that invaluable twitch may be excused when we find one of the most energetic *allegros* of instrumental music built out of elements like these:

for if we are moved by so simple a theme, performed by a large band, we are aware that it is contrary to all precedent, and consequently are not certain that it is correct to admire. But did not Beethoven mean by the suspense of the key in this impressive *unison*, to raise in the mind that expectation and excitement which form the fittest state for the powerful agency of music? Assuredly we think he did, and that herein also is an instance of the sublime of simplicity, which he was the first to illustrate in

instrumental composition. If the reader would penetrate further into the causes of the originality of Beethoven's effects, we would refer him in brief to the frequent doubling of certain intervals of a chord, while others are left thin or wholly omitted—to the placing of notes at remarkable and unusual distances—to the studied omission of some usual note, &c.; and we recommend him to examine, as a favourable specimen of the author's peculiarities, the introduction to the symphony in B flat. Hoffmann speaks worthily of the *andante* of the C minor symphony, when in his usual enthusiastic way he says, "Do we not seem to hear in it a divine voice discoursing to us of love and hope?" In the whole range of music there is no type of this beautiful *andante*, no, not even in Beethoven himself; the artist is no longer indebted to Haydn or Mozart, the whole movement is purely an emanation of his own feeling and fancy. There is an *andante* in A flat in a well-known symphony of Mozart with which this is often compared. If Mozart, out of the inexhaustible store of his ideas, sustains the hearer in a more constant state of luxury, Beethoven's melodies are, perhaps, more appealing, from being employed with an exquisite cunning of simplicity, and from the attention being less occupied with constant touches of the artist. We can imagine the truth of the confession of an amateur, that the opening of one of Beethoven's symphonies at the commencement of a concert will often so much excite him, that he becomes dead to all further impressions from music for the evening—incapable of feeling anything more. The *scherzo* is not less removed from the ordinary course of experience, and is as different from the minuet and trio of Mozart, as Haydn's manner from that of Emanuel Bach. In its grotesque employment of the minor key with alternate major, we seem to be present at a village festival, witnessing the voluntary pranks and comic dances of some half-drunken clown—thunder is heard in the distance, and the sports are for a time suspended, till the *finale* bursts in it, as it were, in a flood of sunshine and of joy. The association with rural scenes and sounds is common in Beethoven—it is not only in his pastoral symphony that we hear the rich monotony of the cuckoo and the simple note of the quail, and according to the ancient mariner:—

> "A noise like that of a hidden brook,
> In the leafy month of June,
> Which to the sleeping woods all night
> Singeth a quiet tune."

Beethoven most easily found the elevation of his ideas in the country, and he sought materials for his art in the silence and

remoteness of forests and caves, by day and night, in storm and sunshine, more like a Caspar under demoniacal influence than one who haunted those shades to commune with the awfulness of nature and his own thoughts. He loved too, to paint the emotions with which we view the obsequies of heroes, and appears himself the last loiterer at evening in the dim cathedral cloister. Seriousness, energy and sublimity, are the characteristics of this author in the symphony, and in our opinion he has left no more perfect combination of them, and no more durable monument of his genius, than in the one in C minor. In Germany they make an affecting use of these compositions, in performing them as preludes to public solemnities, such as the annual commemoration of their great poets and other illustrious men; here we allow the spirit of them to evaporate in one vague sentiment of admiration. Our fortnightly concerts of the Philharmonic Society, however, do much, if only in preserving an exalted idea of musical expression, and giving sensations of elegance and grace to a body of persons, who again disseminate the taste they acquire; vulgarity is by this means entirely dismissed from music, Vanhall and Stamitz are doomed to eternal oblivion, and nothing but high excellence is endured. It would be far beyond the compass of an article to speak here of many symphonies which may seem to claim notice equally with the one on which we have bestowed our principal observation, for Beethoven is entirely various. Even the symphony commemorative of the Battle of Vittoria, which had so great a run at the Drury-lane Oratorios, when under the management of Sir George Smart, had some peculiar effects (owing to the disposal of the performers in the orchestra) that were never thoroughly understood in this country, and we heard an eminent foreign virtuoso say, with a quaintness that increased the amusement of his hearers, that if Beethoven had heard the manner in which Sir George allowed his music to be performed, he would have *put him into prison;* a particularly natural resolution in an Austrian composer, and of right imperial example, in a country where a slight offence and a deep dungeon are a common cause and consequence. For this symphony, Beethoven used merrily to say, he wished the king of England (to whom it was inscribed) would send him a thousand pounds of turtle; another proof of imagination which it requires a stretch of aldermanic genius to contemplate. But as the ancients thought that Apollo's cold water could never inspire good dithyrambics, by parity of supposition we imagine the ascetic musician will want unction in the symphony. The celebrated Septet was the product of the robust middle period of the author's life, and is a composition so remarkable that it can never lightly be dismissed in any notice of the progress of instru-

mental music; it is fortunately not a little known in private society, as forming one of the most elegant and delightful pianoforte duets that have ever been arranged from classical composition. Its melody is so captivating, that it takes the ear from the very first acquaintance, yet the real author cannot be disguised, and one circumstance in particular, viz. the unusual number of movements which occupy it, fully proves with what thronging fancies Beethoven was beset in the writing, which certainly helped to produce many more movements than could be even titled on the authority of any former production. The Septet has been a great favourite at concert rooms on account of the novelty of its combination, and because it brings together and sets off to advantage the finest talent of an orchestra. And here we must be permitted to observe that the instrumental writers have not only generally signalized themselves in improvisation, which accounts for the rapidity, clearness, and connection of their thoughts, but they have been always excellent in their variations; things which in other hands are justly detested by good amateurs, their beauty being mostly in an inverse ratio to their length. There is not perhaps a surer test of genius than the power to make elegant variations, nor a greater resource to the instrumental composer; but they must be mental, not mechanical, the produce of the imagination, not what the ingenious fingers are but too apt to furnish of their own accord. Beethoven in the violin quartet and quintet, a species of chamber music now greatly cultivated in England, runs, what, in the language of sportsmen, would be termed a neck-and-neck race with Mozart. He had the advantage, be it remembered, of some twenty years the larger share of life, and died at last when his genius was declining instead of being called away in its full vigour, and stimulated by success and appreciation to higher exertions. We doubt much, if the major part of Mozart's sixteen violin quartets were thoroughly known, (which, through the inertness of performers, who like only to play such things in public as show themselves off, they are not,) whether the effect would not be very greatly to lower the opinion of Beethoven's discoveries in this department of musical composition. The true secret of the neglect of Mozart's compositions is their excessive difficulty, which those who play to hearers generally prefer the show of to the substance. It is but lost labour, however, to institute comparisons between such consummate masters: Beethoven, too, has passages of sentiment so exquisite and thoughts so happy, that we wonder at their discovery, and feel as if we could in a life never have the like success again, and in the luxury of listening are almost unwilling to participate our sensations with those for whom we do not feel a

regard, and a conviction that they enter fully into the beauties of the composer! The art of both these authors in a *coda*, in reserving the highest interest for the close of a movement, and winding up the pleasure of the hearer to a pitch which almost borders on pain, will be acknowledged as equally characteristic of them. During the musical season of London, these quartets and quintets form a principal part of the entertainment of amateurs, yet they are not frequently understood, the difficulties of their execution being more apt to provoke the vanity of the performers, than the raciness of the compositions to excite their interest. Our professional violinists, with a great deal of tone and manual ability, are wanting in that unanimity as to the more delicate shades of an author's meaning, which produces the perfection of quartet playing, and for which the performances of the Müller family of Brunswick and of the Bohrers of Paris are especially remarkable. We must not omit to mention, as characteristic of the improved taste of the age, that instrumental performances, which were formerly wont in parties to be the signal for general conversation, (as well they might be, when there was nothing better than Stamitz or Sterkel to be heard,) now find a number of attentive and even absorbed listeners.

The library of piano-forte music,* which a great composer bequeaths to posterity, must not be considered as a mere repertory of trifling amusement: the collections of Mozart, Beethoven, and Weber constantly discover the germ of ideas which have appeared in other works in their full-blown magnificence. *Ex pede Herculem:* if the composer be able to sustain the interest of his audience in a current of noble thoughts on the piano-forte, or with a quartet of instruments, he demonstrates sheer invention, and will be only so much the more powerful when he has the advantages of a full band to give force and variety to his effects. Hoffmann, in a pleasant rhapsody which he puts into the mouth

* An old author, in a fine vein of humour, apostrophises those happy sick men who have been fortunate enough to meet with his works, and truly we know no one who has soothed more languishing hours than one of our day—Sir Walter Scott. But even in the fullest health there are intervals in one's pleasures,—there is the satiety of books and the fatigue of writing, against which a resource is wanted; and which we will venture to say is found in nothing so complete as in music. The piano-forte is an instrument always at hand, and it depends neither upon friends nor upon the weather, but solely upon our own fingers. If men of intellectual occupation, who at certain times would gladly exchange their overworking thoughts for sensation, knew the complete relaxation and renovation of mind which music affords, they would all become players. We might quote the authority of Dr. Priestley on this subject, who advises literary persons, even with a bad ear, to persist in the practice of music. The philosopher might have remarked that the utterly bad ear is the anomaly in our constitution, and that if the elements of music were imbibed as a school exercise with the rudiments of grammar, there would be few who in after-life would not soon be in a capacity to please themselves and others.

of his fictitious Kapellmeister Kreisler, indulges his own feelings, and yet contrives to baulk those who would have a sneer at the enthusiasm.

"O, Beethoven, what an impression have all thy works for the piano made upon me! How discolored and feeble does every thing appear which is not the work of thy genius, or of Mozart or Bach! With what pleasure do I return to those admirable trios of thy opera 70, which I have played so many times! Like one who, lost in the flowery alleys of a delicious garden and surrounded by perfumes, strays on without power to extricate himself from the enchanted labyrinth, or to burst the garlands which oppose him, I penetrate deeper and deeper into the delightful sinuosities of thy works; a voice like that of the Syren's draws me onward with irresistible force. I have just played from memory some of the most remarkable passages of these trios. The piano is an instrument certainly more favourable to harmony than to melody. The height of expression upon it does not give that life to a melody which it receives from the bow or the breath, and the artist contends in vain with a disadvantage of mechanism which makes the strings resound through a foreign medium. On the other hand, what instrument, except the harp, embraces like this the whole realm of harmony, and reproduces its treasures under the most varied and magnificent forms? The imagination can conceive no idea so vast as not to be produced by the fingers upon the piano. The full score, that enchanted volume, is vivified by it under the hands of a master, and in the effects of the majestic chorus and orchestra we are presented as it were with a faithful engraving from the great picture. The piano-forte is then the instrument for improvisation, for the score, for sonatas, trios, quartets, and, in short, for whatever is written in the true style, that is, in four or five real parts. But I do not conceal my aversion for piano-forte concertos; though those of Mozart and Beethoven are rather symphonies with a piano-forte *obligato*. After a majestic *tutti* of stringed and wind instruments, how meagre and wretched appears the *solo* for the piano! One admires the agility of the fingers, but of emotion there is nothing. The character of Beethoven's music banishes all those passages in which the hands appear to be running after one another, as well as all the leaps, and capricios, and notes perched up in the clouds, with which modern compositions abound. If one should consider them only as it regards the difficulty of fingering, the compositions of Beethoven have but little merit, for a moderate pianist executes them without trouble: notwithstanding more than one pretended virtuoso has thrown aside the cahier, crying out—'This passage is ungrateful!—This is unplayable!' To execute the productions of Beethoven properly we must understand them, and penetrate into the author's intentions: let him not attempt them to whom music is but a pastime or a momentary attraction. The true artist despises and rejects all personal considerations, and every desire of vulgar applause, his only aim and hope being to reproduce in their pristine splendour those images which the conception of the master has embodied; by such means alone he endeavours to stir up the human heart, and to transport the imagination far, far from this world."

We see nothing to dissent from in the foregoing eloquent apostrophe of Mr. Kreisler, save where he is pleased to describe the fingering of Beethoven's piano-forte music as easy; the abomination of the music is that fingers can hardly be found for it. Few persons wanting the excitement and the passion of the author would play Beethoven tolerably, so entirely destitute is he of that system in the fingering, which favours the execution of other pieces. Every difficulty of performance is but comparative; Beethoven's difficulties are, however, such to good players. In his *allegros* and *finales* all is so new, so unexpected, and so abrupt, that no *studio* can smooth the way to them; as no one dreamed of Beethoven's passages, or anticipated their employment, they are to be encountered as they best may, and if the poetic phrensy of the composer whirl us over them with scarcely a knowledge of their being executed, we have rather our own strength of feeling than the ease of the composition to thank. Here we might have a good opportunity to inveigh against the *finger-music* now in fashion, and to exclaim, with Weber, that he who composes at the piano-forte is but the child of poverty, for so accustomed are the fingers to wander in their old tracks, that to trust to them is to sacrifice all vigour and originality. Beethoven pursued beauty in the abstract; he considered nothing of convenience in the means of producing it; hence his difficulty, and at the same time his originality.

That this master in his latter years, probably as he felt the waning of his youthful powers, carried the caprice which was in some measure peculiar to his style to an unusual excess is unquestionable, and we have authority for the assertion in his last symphony, with chorus, which occupies in performance one hour and twenty minutes, and wears out the patience and the faculties of every person who attempts to listen to it. Probably the author's deafness* may have tended to such mental concentration, as to enable him to see the connection in a design of much greater extent, than is within the scope of ordinary mortals; but we know the opinion of musicians respecting this work is, that he has raised so huge a pile that the eye cannot take in its proportions. He was writing for Titans, not for human pigmies. Again, in his posthumous mass, and set of quartets, of which the most learned audiences have not been able to discover whether they have a meaning or not, we may discover a mind brooding over more ambitious designs, and deviating yet more extraordi-

* After Beethoven became completely deaf, when he would try over a new quartet, he used to sit and watch the performers with intense earnestness, and by this means judge whether they understood his composition or not.

narily from the common track. Some have surmised that the protracted calamity of the author had unsettled his notion of the connexion and relation of sounds; but we know not how such an opinion can be tenable, when it is remembered that he was in the constant practice of writing; and though by appealing to the eye and mind alone he might have gradually accustomed himself to tolerate greater dissonances, or *hardnesses*, than his ear would willingly have borne in its acute state, we do not see how his principles could have become unfixed without reducing his compositions to a chaotic confusion, which is certainly no where to be found.

A kindred spirit of grandeur made Beethoven the idolater of Handel,* and that desire to arrest the hearer by some powerful thought, which Haydn, speaking of the latter, termed his striking like a thunderbolt, is equally observable in the symphonies of the one, as the oratorios of the other. Mozart's genius, on the contrary, less astonishing, but always flowing on in one deep current of feeling, assimilates more strongly to that of Bach. The Mount of Olives, in spite of the fine things it contains, the admirable instrumental introduction, and the Hallelujah chorus a complete specimen of grandeur in modern choral music, will on the whole be considered a failure. Its character is too monotonous, and the attention is fatigued by the length to which movements of one peculiar expression are extended: this fault is for the most part attributable to the subject. The last chorus indeed produces something fresh—but there are few hearers of the entire oratorio that do not hail it joyfully, because it is the last. An age of instrumental improvement like the present is little favourable to the development of that simple grandeur which is the prominent characteristic of the oratorio style; the beauty and refinement now sought in the use of instruments rob the voices of a force which every one acknowledges in the composition of the ancient authors. The more music depends upon the accompaniment, the more it is exposed to the fluctuations of taste, which the discovery of new instruments continually modifies, and thus often renders preceding efforts old fashioned and unbearable.

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* Let us here be allowed to mention with honour an instance of liberality and good taste in an amateur. M. Stumpff, the harp-maker of Great Portland Street, who is an enthusiastic admirer of good music, and who possesses the valuable MS. of a set of quartets by Mozart, became during a sojourn in Vienna the friend and companion of Beethoven. On his return to England he became anxious to send some token of his remembrance of the happy hours he had passed with his illustrious friend; and he hit upon an idea which every one will envy. It was to send a complete and costly set of Handel's Works to the composer, with the precaution that it should be set down in his chamber free of all expense. This was actually put in execution, and we may imagine what were Beethoven's feelings—between the value of the present itself, and the rare enthusiasm of the giver.

Oratorios are no longer the first order of musical composition—their finest qualities, being found in the elements of the science, naturally fell to the lot of the earliest masters, and the second-hand simplicity of our own times is so lightly valued as to be looked upon as little better than so much quotation. The Ambrosian and Gregorian chaunts have outlived a hundred revolutions in the employment of instruments; *their* immortality is secure—but he who would attempt to revive such a style now would stand a poor chance of gaining admirers or making proselytes. A composer may advance as much as he will beyond his age, but if he return to the manner of antiquity, his productions will be received with scorn, as at once deficient in invention, and insulting to the acquirements of his contemporaries; the genius of the artist, if he would enjoy success, must, therefore, be moulded by circumstances. Perhaps the most striking instance of a modern oratorio, based upon the ancient simplicity, yet original, is Mehul's Joseph. It may enforce the reason just hazarded upon the degeneracy of this class of composition, that the best Scriptural stories have been ransacked by Handel, and that the authors who now put together these pieces for composers are generally not masters of their craft, nor always aware that the music requires both dramatic interest, and a plan artfully constructed, so as to place the various movements in relief. But if the oratorio style was somewhat disadvantageous to Beethoven, a fine field was open to him in the composition of masses, where his abundant fancy and mastery in the use of instruments might have had the fullest scope. The mass has been set and reset, so often and with so much license, by the whole tribe of composers, as to partake at last more of the instrumental than the vocal character of expression; the voices are frequently used as instruments, and the composer, satisfied that his work bears some general relation to the text, gives himself up to his imagination, and is by turns grave or joyous, tender or animated, as the inclination takes him. Indeed some composers have freely abandoned all thought of the words, and none more grossly than the good Catholic Haydn, many of whose *Kyrie eleèsons* partake more of the character of a jig than of religious supplication. Two masses are the whole of the Church music of Beethoven known in the English amateur circles—the first in C, for its extreme beauty and originality without a misplaced note from beginning to end—the second in D, a posthumous work, so replete with difficulties, such a complicated and astounding score, that it stands a good chance of never being heard, and hitherto has met with a signal failure wherever it has been attempted. We know of one musical party in London got up for the express purpose of trying this composi-

tion, at which the conductor suddenly dashed down the score, candidly avowing that he could make nothing of it, and that in fact it was "the blind leading the blind." It is worthy of note, that this work, which contains some of the profoundest harmonic combinations, and at the same time so new as to require the nicest ear as a test, was the product of the deafest part of the author's life, and proves that by some extraordinary mental process he must have judged of the union of sounds that he not only could not hear, but could never have heard! As a dramatic composer nothing is known of Beethoven in London, except through certain extracts from Fidelio, which have been executed at the Philharmonic and other concerts; they convey a high idea of the character of the work, but leave its stage effect to conjecture. More dramatic works might have fallen from Beethoven, for during the presidency of Waters over the King's Theatre, the composer commissioned a friend to treat with him for an engagement in London, with such offers of service as could not fail to have been readily accepted by any one sensible of the advantage of possessing such a composer, and with spirit enough to propose honourable terms; the offer made by Waters was, however, so contemptible, that the negotiation was indignantly broken off. The wish expressed by Beethoven arose more from the uneasiness of his situation abroad, where he was harassed by the movements of hostile armies, than from any violent affection for the dramatic style, in which, had he felt much inclination, he might have been easily gratified. We are not among those who lament over misapplied talent, being of opinion that men are the carvers of their own fortunes, and for the most part do what they are intended to do.

The first impulse on hearing of the calamities of celebrated authors, is to exclaim how much more might have been expected from them had their course of life run smoothly? but it is extremely doubtful, in the cases of Mozart and Beethoven, whether the poverty of the one, by compelling him to write, and the deafness of the other, by excluding communication with the outward world, and constraining him to be original, have not greatly benefited posterity. If the musician demur to the poverty, he will, at least, allow that the idea of an eternal silence surrounding the great composer is gratifying to the imagination, and, doubtless, Beethoven, amid the universal dumbness of nature, heard melodies more sweet than ever met the sensual ear. Has he not in his lonely forest walks surprised Pan and the wood nymphs, and peopled the solitudes about Vienna with shapes and sounds more than human? The cravings of the purse, constraining Mozart to write, compelled him to leave fine things to posterity, for it

was impossible that he could do any thing bad;—instead of descending to the popular taste, he brought it many degrees nearer to himself. With the noblest ideas of the character of an artist, Mozart could not be indifferent to fame, or fearful of the "laborious days" and self denial that lead to it. A great musician and a fine extemporaneous performer is perhaps the most easily excusable for doing little. By nature luxurious and social, and carrying about with him a talent which makes him the admiration of every circle into which he falls, inventing and putting his ideas into execution at once, himself revelling in what he does, and receiving the rapturous acknowledgments of his delighted hearers:—such a life cannot be easily quitted, to encounter the tedious business of writing the thoughts, for solitude, meditation, and dreams of posthumous fame. This is to enjoy "the future in the instant," and to anticipate the verdict of posterity; such were Mozart and Beethoven's triumphs, and so easily were they earned, that under the favourable circumstances of life, they might have squandered all their treasures of thought and beauty; as it is, we are convinced that nothing they have left behind equals what in these moments has been heard and forgotten. It may be truly affirmed of composition, *c'est le premier pas qui coute;* once fairly engaged in it the composer enters into the pleasure of his work; but there is a pleasure too, in playing, which none but the player knows. What hidden delight there is in the contact of the delicate ivory, by what invisible train of nerves a certain joy is diffused through the whole body, and how the sensorium, the finger-tops, and the feet are influenced by one common sympathy, it were vain to inquire, but the true lover of music feels all this in the performance of a beautiful movement, and if thus a common mortal, what must have been the excitement of a Mozart or a Beethoven? Theirs are the emotions that make sleepless eyes, and a brain overworking with thought, until the imagination becomes a torment, and unless Providence by some fortunate accident put it out of their power to repeat the too intoxicating draught of beauty, make them drop into the grave in the prime of life, from sheer bodily exhaustion. Thus we prematurely lost a Mozart, and, but for his obtuse ear, might have lost a Beethoven. Artists are, in the end, often gainers by events which seem to them the bitterest misfortunes, and we even go so far as to think that the state of placid security and competence, so much extolled by visionaries as favourable to contemplation and great works, only serves to dull the wits; while all the energy of genius is often roused by obstacles, and stimulated by adversity.

It only remains for us to speak of Beethoven as a player, and this we can the more readily do, as the authentic testimony of

judges is still to be obtained. In companies, where the finest players executed the finest set compositions, when Beethoven sat down to the piano-forte to conjure up something upon the spur of the moment, he was sure to throw all who had played before him into the shade. His fertile fancy, and the impetuosity of his temperament, rendered him a prodigy, and his performance was of a nature to stagger the faith of those present, even though they saw and heard. In his poetic fury at the piano, he elicited combinations of the most complicated difficulty, and executed passages which he would have shrunk from attempting in cold blood. Nor was it only surprise that excited his hearers—they were carried away by the strangeness and beauty of his fancies. The style of some of his piano-forte productions may give an idea of his *extempore* playing, though nothing *written* by him can equal the ideas fresh from his own brain, executed by himself. Difficulties stimulated him, and he loved those who dared them; he took an affection to Ferdinand Ries his pupil, for venturing an extraordinarily difficult cadence in public, and coming out of it successfully. With all this he had but small hands, and a manner of execution which would be deemed inferior to that of some piano-forte teachers. But what cannot love accomplish? It is this devotion to her, and enthusiasm in her service, indicative of a simple nature, and inconsistent with personal vanity, avarice, or envy, the usual vices of artists, which the Muse never fails to reward with her choicest gifts. Whatever may have been its influence upon the character, if any, while music was more allied to mathematic calculation than to poetical feeling, we are certain that since with the moderns it has been elevated into a matter of sentiment, the lives of the great masters have furnished some chapters in the history of our nature, which redound not less to the praise of music than to the honour of humanity.

ART. VIII.—1. *Recherches Historiques et Critiques sur la Nature, les Causes, et le Traitement du Cholera Morbus, d' Europe, de l'Inde, de Russie, de Pologne, &c., Spécialement appliquées à l'Hygiène Publique.* Par F. E. Fodéré, Professeur de Médecine légale, Police médicale, et des Maladies épidémiques à la Faculté de Médecine de Strasbourg, &c. Paris. 1831. 8vo.

2. *Rapport au Conseil Supérieur de Santé sur le Cholera-Morbus, les Caractères et phénomènes pathologiques de cette Maladie, les Moyens curatifs et Hygièniques qu'on lui oppose, son Mode de*

Propagation, &c. &c. Par Alex. Moreau de Jonnès, Membre et Rapporteur du Conseil, &c. &c. Paris. 1831. 8vo.

3. *Die Asiatische Cholera in Russland in den Jahren* 1829 *und* 1830, *&c. Nach Russischen amtl. Quellen bearb. &c.* Von D. I. R. Lichtenstadt, Arzt. Professeur. Leipsic and Berlin. 1831. 8vo.
4. *Trattato delle varie Specie di Cholera Morbus.* Di Michele Bunavi, M.D. Turin. 1831. 8vo.
5. *Memoire sur le Cholera Morbus de l'Inde.* Par P. F. Kerauden, Inspecteur-Général du Service de Santé de la Marine Royale, &c. Paris. 1831. 8vo.
6. *Memoire sur un Nouveau Traitement du Cholera-Morbus, et des affections Typhoïdes.* Par H. F. Ranque, M.D., &c. Paris. 1831. 8vo.
7. *Instructions sur le Cholera-Morbus, contenant les Moyens de s'en préserver, d'en guerir, et d'empêcher sa propagation.* Publiée par les Docteurs C. Horn, et G. Wagner, Professeurs à Berlin. Traduite par M. L. Paris, M. D. Paris. 1831. 8vo.
8. *Précis Physiologique du Cholera-Morbus, &c. &c.* Par H. M. J. Desruelles, M.D., &c. &c. Paris. Sept. 1831. 8vo.
9. *Memoire sur le Cholera-Morbus.* Par M. le Baron Larrey, Membre de l'Institut de France, &c. Paris. 1831. 8vo.
10. *Observations faites sur le Cholera Morbus à Moscou.* Par B. Zoubroff, Naturaliste. Moscow. 1831. 8vo.
11. *Ueber die Cholera im Allgemeinem und die Asiatische Cholera insbesondere.* Von Dr. Georg. Freiherrn von Wedekind. Frankfurt am Main. 1831. 12mo.
12. *Die Indische Cholera nach allen ihren Beziehungen, geschichtlich, pathologisch-diagnostisch, therapeutisch und als Gegenstand der Staats-und Sanitäts-Polizei dargestellt.* Von Dr. C. F. Harless. Braunschweig. 1831. 8vo.

Numerous attempts have been made by writers on the present destructive pestilence, to show that it is essentially the same disease with that form of cholera which has appeared at various times in warm climates. After the best attention we can give to the subject—from the history of the present malady furnished us by the very numerous authors who have closely observed its phenomena—and from an extensive experience of those varieties of cholera which occur in this country during warm seasons, and in the more unhealthy localities in intertropical countries, we are entirely convinced that the pestilence which has ravaged the East, and is gradually extending itself over Europe, is not only distinct from all visitations of the disease to which the name cho-

lera has been attached, and with which the history of medicine has made us acquainted, but is altogether a new disease, and one totally unknown to medical science previously to the year 1817, when it first made its direful irruption in Jessore, a populous and unhealthy city in the centre of the Delta of the Ganges.

That the *Mort de Chien*, or the severe form of cholera, which was called *spasmodic*, long before the present pestilence made its appearance, frequently occurs as a sporadic disease in many intertropical countries, and even rarely in temperate climates, after very hot and unhealthy seasons, must be well known to all who have enjoyed a sufficient range of medical observation; and that its frequency as well, indeed, as the frequency of the bilious or common cholera, depends as much upon particular localities, seasons, and climates, and upon certain changes of the temperature and constitution of the atmosphere, as dysentery, bilious fever, or hepatitis; either being endemic, or assuming features approaching to epi demic, owing to those causes in conjunction with various circumstances proper to the inhabitants where it appears. When, therefore, the bilious and spasmodic forms of cholera assume characters approaching to those usually denominated epidemic, they will be traced to certain causes similar in kind to those now referred to, and will disappear as these causes cease to exist. But this distinctive character cannot be applied to the truly pestilential malady now desolating Europe. It has ravaged nearly all Asia, and a great part of Europe, during every grade of atmospheric temperature and humidity, in every vicissitude of weather and of season, and in every kind of locality.

But instead of referring to those circumstances connected with the origin of the common forms of cholera and the disease under consideration for grounds of distinction between them, let us look closely into, and at the same time analyze, the phenomena which characterise each during their progress, and we shall find proofs not of variety merely, but of generic difference. In truth the present pestilence, in all its most prominent features, has but little in common with any of the forms of cholera,—no more than it has with fever, plague, or dysentery. This, however, is not a new remark; it has been made by many of the experienced reporters to the Medical Boards of the three Indian Presidencies, and by the writer of this article as far back as the beginning of 1822, as well as by several able authors. The appellation of cholera is therefore not appropriate, as respects the present pestilence. The misnomer would be a matter of but small importance, if, in the usual routine of medical practice, names were not things, or, at least, too frequently taken as such. This, however, is not the place to change further than we have done the appellation by

which the present malady is now generally known, or to inquire as to what name would most accurately convey some idea of its nature and tendency. We shall find our limits small enough for the consideration of matters of greater importance; waiving, therefore, all minor topics, we shall limit ourselves to the discussion of certain facts connected, in the first place, with *the nature of the disease*, in the second, with *the modes by which it is propagated*, and in the third, with *the means by which it may be prevented and remedied.*

I. The nature of this pestilence is best inferred from a faithful history of the phenomena manifested by it during its progress, and of the changes it produces in the organization, and from the means found successful in limiting its extension and in restoring the frame to its healthy state when subjected to its attack. We have to regret that neither the occasion, nor the space to which we are necessarily limited, will admit of that fulness of inquiry and illustration which the professional reader may desire: we will, however, confine ourselves to the more interesting topics of the subject, and endeavour to arrive at inferences, which, we hope, may be productive of useful results.

Since the first irruption of the malady in the Delta of the Ganges, during its various manifestations in India, and other parts of Asia, and in its different visitations of northern and western countries;—whether observed in British India, in Siam, Java, and the adjoining islands,—in China, in Tartary, in Arabia, Persia, Syria, or in Russia, Prussia, Hungary, and Austria;—whether attacking the Hindoo, the Mussulman, the Malay, the Mongul, the Asiatic Caucassian, or the European branches of this race, the characteristic features of the disease have been uniformly the same, modifications as respects grade, or intensity of attack, being the chief sources of distinction. Age, constitution, and varying degrees of predisposition, frequently occasion different manifestations of certain functions, or peculiar forms of disturbance, yet still the principal phenomena continue but little modified excepting in degree; and it is not until consecutive changes are induced in the system by the morbid actions characterizing the disease that any marked difference manifests itself,—such difference evidently proceeding from pre-existing states of the internal viscera, innate vigour of constitution, and the remedial means employed to remove the attack. This uniform character of the malady indicates the operation of a specific cause, with which, however, several others may combine, favouring its action, by disposing the frame to its invasion, by reinforcing its activity, or calling it into operation after the body has been exposed to its influence.

The specific cause producing the disease may be supposed not only to be thus reinforced by other causes, some of them of no mean influence, but itself may vary considerably in intensity, producing *cæteris paribus*, effects of co-ordinate severity, yet still acting with a certain relation to the predisposition of the individuals exposed to it. This may be more clearly illustrated by taking for granted the operation of a certain infectious product, or poison, the existence of which will be shewn in the

sequel. This product or effluvium emanating from the bodies of the attacked with the disease, often in a form rendered manifest to the senses of the observer, necessarily varies as respects concentration and quantity, dilution in the air, and rapidity of dissipation by means of ventilation; its effects, therefore, may reasonably be supposed to vary equally in grade, the state of predisposition to become affected by it being the same. Where, however, the predisposition is great, as after great fatigue, during mental depression, &c., a less concentrated and abundant effluvium proceeding from the body of the diseased will produce a more intense effect, than this principle in its most active and concentrated form acting upon a person but slightly predisposed; whilst this intensity of cause will altogether fail of producing any marked effect in the strong, the unpredisposed, or the person whose moral confidence and equanimity generally repel the invasion of any form of infection. Thus, therefore, the manifestations of the malady will be modified chiefly in grade, and scarcely at all as respects its form. In these respects the efficient cause of the disease is perfectly similar in its operation to the causes of other diseases familiarly known, and frequently observed in an epidemic form;—when concentrated and intense, the subject being also predisposed to its invasion, its effects are rapidly produced, remarkably severe, and speedily arrive at a termination. On the other hand, when weak, or much diluted, or when the predisposition of the subject is slight, its operation is slow, and the train of morbid actions of longer duration, and diminished severity. Thus we have seen a person struck down nearly inanimate, by the infectious effluvium proceeding from the bodies of the sick, and concentrated in a close apartment, and death following in a few hours, without the energies of life being rallied, and similar results have been often observed in respect of the pestilential cholera. Owing, therefore, to the intensity of the efficient cause of the disease, to the number of concomitant causes which may reinforce its action, and to the state of predisposition of those exposed to them, the modified results which we are now about to detail will present themselves.

The *invading* or *preliminary symptoms* of the disease generally consist of pallor, and collapse of the countenance, slight pain of the forehead and vertigo; sickness, heat, and pain at the epigastrium; nervous agitation, remarkable loss of muscular power, general uneasiness; slight diarrhœa, at first feculent, but afterwards watery; sickness at stomach; slight cramps of the legs; extremely weak, small, slow or creeping, and sometimes intermitting pulse, and coldness and humidity of the surface. These symptoms are of varied duration—sometimes of several hours, at other times not of as many minutes; and in some cases they have been scarcely remarked, the patient having been struck down almost lifeless, with a dark or livid state of the surface, and all the symptoms characterising the fully-formed state of the disease.

Dr. Smith observes, that several of those about to be attacked, may be seen with a peculiarly dark ring round their eyes: and others state that the features evidently collapse, and the expression becomes anxious for a day or two, or at least for hours, before they sicken. At Oren-

burgh, dyspeptic symptoms are stated to have preceded its attack, and a similar observation has been made in other places. Various authors have said, that stomach and bowel complaints, of a less serious nature, often preceded a fully developed seizure for a day or two: and that these complaints have likewise occurred in the place where this pestilence has prevailed, and been removed by treatment, or disappeared spontaneously, without being followed by the cholera.

The *fully-developed state* of the malady consists of great vertigo, nervous agitation, with complete loss of muscular energy; cramps commencing at the fingers and toes and rapidly extending to the trunk; slow, thready, and weak pulse; great collapse of the countenance, the eyes being sunk deep in their sockets and surrounded by a dark circle; vomiting and purging of a fluid resembling whey, or rice water; a peculiar sharp and contracted state of the features, and wild and terrified expression of countenance arising from a feeling of rapidly approaching dissolution. The whole surface, particularly the hands, face, and extremities, assumes a leaden, blue, or purplish tint, varying in shade with the intensity of the attack and complexion of the person; the extremities are shrunk, shrivelled, sodden, and the skin is deadly cold, damp, and raw to the touch; the nails assume a bluish-white hue; the pulse is either reduced to a minute thread, or is entirely lost at the wrist, and often can with difficulty be felt in the neck; the course of the large superficial veins is marked by flat lines of a darker tint than the adjoining surface; a burning heat and inexpressible anxiety is complained of at the epigastrium; the patient tosses about incessantly, from a feeling of intolerable weight and anguish around his heart; he struggles for breath, and often lays his hand on the stomach and chest, referring his agony chiefly to those situations; his voice is nearly gone, and his respiration is quick, irregular, most laborious, and imperfect; the inspiratory act being effected by an immense effort, and expiration being quick and convulsive. The patient calls frequently for cold water, speaks in a plaintive whisper, and utters only a word at a time, the lungs not containing air enough for a sentence. The tongue is always moist, often white and loaded, and generally flabby and cold. A thermometer introduced below the tongue, indicates an animal temperature, frequently of ten or twelve degrees below the standard of health. The sense of touch is generally greatly obscured, and deafness is often present. If blood be obtained in this state, it is black, flows by drops, is thick, and feels colder than natural; and the air which is expired is cold and raw. Vomiting and purging, which are far from being the most dangerous symptoms, and are often the most remarkable in the less urgent cases, are generally slight, or at least not profuse, in those attacks where the sinking of the vital energies are the most rapid and the greatest; or are readily allayed by medicine. The integuments of the abdomen are often raised into irregular folds, whilst the epigastrium and hypochondria, with the whole abdomen, are commonly, especially in the intensely severe cases, drawn inwards and upwards upon the chest. The spasms are generally of a more or less passive kind, but they sometimes, particularly in the loins, legs and thighs, present a tetanic rigidity. They are often

slight, or nearly absent, in some of the most rapidly fatal cases. There is occasionally a low whine of suffering expressed. The secretion of urine is totally suspended, as well as the biliary, the salivary and lachrymal fluids; and a peculiar earthy odour issues from the body, with a singular fetor of the perspiration and evacuations.

These are the symptoms in the more severe attacks, varying, however, somewhat in degree. If the remedial means succeed, the animal heat is slowly restored, the pulse becomes fuller, and the colour of the surface more natural. But if these means fail, rapid extinction of the functions takes place. Frictions even then may reduce the lividity of the part to which they are applied, but that of the face and hands increases. The lips and cheeks sometimes puff out in expiration as in apoplexy; and towards the close of the scene, the respiration often becomes slow, with a quivering of the tendons of the extremities. The mind is generally undisturbed, the patient feeling merely a certain degree of apathy towards the close, and a desire to be left to his fate. At last he is unable to swallow, he then becomes insensible, and he dies after one or two long convulsive sobs. In some cases, when the patient has been thus rapidly cut off, without any rallying of the energies of life, convulsive motions of the muscles have been remarked an hour or two, or even longer, after expiration had ceased.

Such is the history of the disease when it terminates life, without any reaction of the nervous and muscular systems, the patient generally dying in from six to twenty-four hours. But, both in the East, and in Europe, particularly the latter, or amongst Europeans resident in India, a consecutive state of disease, attended with efforts at reaction of an imperfect or malignant character, was not unfrequently observed. It was rarely evinced in the weak Hindoo, or in the previously debilitated, of whatever race, but sometimes in the stronger or less predisposed in India, and often in Europe.

From the aggravated state which has been now described but very few recover, particularly if that state have existed as long as three or four hours before active treatment has been resorted to.

"A thread of pulse, however small, is almost always felt at the wrist, where recovery from this state is to be expected. Hiccough coming on in the intermediate moments between the threatening of death and the beginning of reaction, is a favourable sign, and generally announces the return of circulation. In less severe cases, the pulse is not wholly extinguished, though much reduced in volume: the respiration is less embarrassed; the oppression and anguish at the chest are not so overwhelming, although vomiting and purging and the cramps may have been more intense. The coldness and change of colour of the surface, the peculiar alteration of the voice, a greater or less degree of coldness of the tongue, the character of the liquids evacuated, are invariably well marked in all the degrees of violence of attack which we have hitherto witnessed in this epidemic. In no case or stage of this disease have we observed shivering; nor have we heard, after inquiry, of more than one case, in which this febrile symptom took place."— *Report from St. Petersburgh, by Drs. Barry and Russell.*

The *Consecutive Phenomena* of this malady vary considerably. In the East, when recovery took place from the previous state, it was often rapid

and without much subsequent disease having been experienced. The numerous writers, however, in the Reports from the Medical Boards of the three Indian presidencies make particular mention of a consecutive form of fever characterized by nervous and malignant symptoms, such as we are about to enumerate, and which was very commonly observed to follow the attack at St. Petersburgh. They also state that the malady often passed into visceral disease,and dysentery; and that the danger was not over although they succeeded in rallying the powers of life. According to Drs. Barry and Russell,—

"After the blue or cold period has lasted from twelve to twenty-four, seldom to forty-eight hours or upwards, the pulse and external heat begin gradually to return; headache is complained of, with noise in the ears; the tongue becomes more loaded, redder at the tip and edges, and also drier. High-coloured urine is passed with pain and in small quantities; the pupil is often dilated, soreness is felt on pressure over the liver, stomach, and belly; in short, the patient is now labouring under a continued fever, not to be distinguished from ordinary fever."

A profuse critical perspiration sometimes comes on from the second or third day, and leaves the patient convalescent; but more frequently the quickness of pulse and heat of skin continue; the tongue becomes brown and parched; the eyes suffused and drowsy, with a dull flush, stupor, and heaviness of the countenance resembling typhus. Dark sordes collect about the teeth and lips; and sometimes the patient is pale, squalid, and low, with the pulse and heat below natural, but with the typhous stupor. Delirium generally supervenes, and death takes place from the fourth to the eighth day, or even later, in the very person, too, whom the most assiduous exertions had barely saved in the cold stage. Dr. Reimer states, that of twenty cases treated under his own eye, who fell victims to the disease, seven died in the cold stage, and thirteen in the consecutive fever. Drs. Barry and Russell add, that persons employed about cases in this typhoid stage, are never attacked with ordinary fever, but with a genuine cold, blue cholera.

In another class of cases, serious disorders of the secreting organs of the abdomen, particularly of the liver and of the digestive tube, supervene, instead of the low nervous fever now described. The evacuations from the bowels become of a dark, blackish, offensive, and highly irritating kind, and attended frequently with discharges of a bloody fluid, with mucus, and extremely urgent irritation of the rectum, the consecutive symptoms assuming nearly the character of dysentery. Sometimes an inflammatory, or sub-inflammatory state of the stomach and bowels take place, either alone, or accompanied with great tenderness in the region of the liver, and disorder of the biliary secretion. In other cases these symptoms assume very nearly the form of bilious or gastric fever; and in a few this state of disease is associated with inflammatory irritation of the lungs. When these states of consecutive disease are severe, they not seldom carry off the patient; and where recovery takes place, are frequently accompanied with tedious convalescence.

The *points of difference*, between the manifestations of this pestilence in India, and in the north of Europe, appear to be chiefly the following.

1st. The evacuations seem to have been more profuse and ungovernable in the former than in the latter, although the characters of the evacuations were entirely the same. 2d. Restoration to health from the cold state, without passing through consecutive fever, was by far more frequent in India than in Europe, nor did the consecutive fever there so generally assume a typhoid type. 3d. The proportion of deaths in the cold, compared with those in the consecutive stage, was far greater in the latter, than in the former country; and 4th, The proportion of medical men and hospital attendants attacked seemed greater in St. Petersburgh than in the East. Relapses, also, in the hospital attendants were not infrequent; whilst convalescence was generally perfect and rapid elsewhere. Mr. Jameson states, in the Calcutta Reports, that, although relapses were not uncommon, there seemed to exist an immunity from second attacks.

It may, perhaps, be difficult to explain the modified state of consecutive disease now described. Much, perhaps, may be owing to the state of predisposition, the intensity of the cause, and the constitution of the affected: something also may be attributed to the effect of treatment in the early stage of the malady, particularly the more general employment of blood-letting and large doses of calomel,—means evidently calculated to remove the oppressive congestion of the vital organs, and re-animate the functions of the secreting organs and emunctories of the frame, but which seemed not to have been so generally, nor so decidedly, resorted to in Russia and Poland as in India.

The *morbid appearances* described by authors in the Eastern and in the European disease, as having been found after death, are in every respect the same. When death took place in the cold stage, or within four-and-twenty hours from the seizure, but little actual change of organization could be detected, although the viscera were much altered, *in appearance*, from the healthy state. The surface of the body usually presented the same aspect as in the fully formed stage of the malady—being livid, corrugated, constricted, and humid. The *lungs* were commonly found collapsed, sometimes remarkably shrunk, and always loaded with black blood, of an oily or ropy consistence, and very closely resembling tar. The cavities of the *heart* were filled with a black blood, and they frequently contained polypous concretions. Blood of a similar appearance was generally found in the arch of the aorta and other large arteries. The blood-vessels of the *brain* and its membranes were more or less gorged with dark blood, particularly towards its base. The arachnoid membrane was frequently deprived of its transparency. A serous fluid of various quantity was often found effused between the convolutions of the brain, and in the lateral ventricles. Similar appearances to those detected in the cranium were also found in the vertebral column. The *stomach* and different parts of the *bowels* were frequently partially, but considerably contracted: the internal surface of the stomach sometimes seemed but little affected. A whitish or yellow fluid matter, resembling the evacuations, was often observed in different parts of the alimentary canal, which occasionally contained much air, but neither bile nor fæces. The colon was frequently much contracted, generally

throughout. The internal surface of the digestive canal presented evident marks of congestion, in some cases approaching to a sub-inflammatory state, but generally in spots or patches of various sizes, the colour of these varying from a very dark venous congestion, to a more roseate hue. Decided signs of inflammation were always wanting, even in the most remarkable of those congested states. Both stomach and bowels were frequently of a paler colour than natural both in their inner and outer surfaces. The *liver* was generally pretty full of dark-coloured blood: the gall-bladder often much distended with tenacious ropy bile, of a dark yellow or green colour. The gall-ducts were sometimes contracted, at other times not. The appearance of the pancreas, spleen, and kidnies, was various, frequently differing but little from their natural state, in other cases somewhat gorged with blood. The urinary bladder was always contracted and empty. The vena porta and all the large abdominal veins were loaded with black blood, resembling tar in appearance.

In cases, the duration of which extended from one to three days, the same leading appearances as now described were observed, but often with considerable addition. The vessels of the stomach in these were found loaded with blood, presenting a surface sometimes of a pale pink hue, sometimes of a deep blue, at others of so dark a tint as to resemble sphacelus of the membrane, from which, however, it was readily distinguished by the firmness of the texture. Similar changes were found in the small intestines, and but very rarely in the larger. In those cases in which coma had existed, serum was sometimes effused in larger quantities than already alluded to, but occasionally congestion only of a very black blood was found. Those who died of the consecutive disease showed no appearances after death different from such as are usually observed in other cases, attended with corresponding symptoms.

It may be interesting next to inquire into the *various degrees of prevalence and of mortality* which this pestilence has presented in different countries. According to Moreau de Jonnès, one tenth of the population of Hindostan was attacked, and one sixth of those died. We should consider this estimate by far too low. The disease is even now prevalent in India, particularly in the countries under the Bengal government, although much less so than previously. In Arabia, one-third of the inhabitants of the towns which it visited died of it. In Siam, Java, and the Mauritius, the number seized was extremely great, as well as the mortality from it. In China, its fatality was also great, owing chiefly to the density of the population and the neglect of precautionary measures. In Persia, one-sixth of the inhabitants of several of the principal towns died of it. From one-fourth to one-third of the population of Mesopotamia was said to have perished. In Bassorah and Bagdad, situate in unhealthy localities, and a humid atmosphere, a third of the inhabitants were carried off by it in little more than a month. At Errivan and Tauris it destroyed about one-fifth of the population. But in more elevated and healthy situations it was much less fatal. In Syria its ravages have been extremely varied: in some places one-half of the inhabitants were swept away, whilst in others, as in Tripoli, only one

perished out of every 200. During the prevalence of the pestilence in the southern and eastern provinces of Russia in 1830, the mortality was also various. At Tiflis three-fourths of the sick, at Astrachan two-thirds were carried off. Out of 16,000 attacked in the province of the Caucasus 10,000 died; at Moscow one-half, and at Orenburg one-fifth only perished. According to the author last quoted, out of 54,000 and upwards attacked in the provinces of Russia, in 1830, more than 31,000 died.

The questions which naturally suggest themselves to the professional and scientific reader are, what is the intimate *nature* of this pestilence, and from what *cause* does it proceed? As to both, the difference of prevailing opinions is extremely wide. The uniformity of the symptoms, under every circumstance of locality, climate, and constitution of the affected, would point to one specific or principal cause. But in what does this consist? The manner of the attack, the selection observed in its victims, the circumstances connected with the seizure, the characteristic symptoms which it presents, and various other considerations, would seem to point out the existence of some animal poison or effluvium proceeding from the diseased and infecting the healthy. But in what way this poison, or leaven of the disease, originated, we have no certain data from which to venture an inference. Did it originate about the period of the first irruption of the pestilence in the Delta of the Ganges, and propagate itself by extending its influence to the predisposed ever since, without any subsequent generation of the principle *de novo*, assuming more destructive features under circumstances which predispose to, or facilitate its transmission, as moist, unhealthy or epidemic states of the air, &c.? Or does this disease arise in distant and unconnected places at nearly the same time, from some peculiarity of the air, or of its electrical states; or from some foreign material extricated from the earth, or floating in the atmosphere; and, having produced the fully formed disease, an effluvium emanates from the affected body, capable of producing the same train of morbid actions as those in which itself originated, the infectious principle being thus generated *de novo* on numerous occasions? That an infectious property is evinced by the disease cannot be doubted by any one who intimately examines its phenomena, particularly in connection with their origin; but whether this principle originated with the first irruption of the malady, or has been re-produced on numerous occasions subsequently, the disease which re-produces it proceeding from a very different cause, is a difficulty which will not readily be solved. We cannot believe, however, that, where the symptoms of the disease are uniformly the same, the causes which produce it should be so entirely opposite

as are aerial influence and an animal poison generated in the bodies of the diseased; or in other words, that very different and even opposite causes should be *uniformly* followed by the same effects on every occasion and combination of circumstances; the disease at the same time generating a cause which shall perpetuate it of a very different nature from those in which itself originated.

In whatever way this question may be answered, if indeed it be ever satisfactorily answered, is not very material as respects the nature of the malady. But, whatever may be the exact origin of the efficient cause, there seems little doubt that it is inhaled into the lungs with the inspired air, where it acts as a poison, depressing the energy of the nerves supplying this organ, destroying the expansile actions it performs during respiration, and thus impeding those changes which the blood undergoes in the lungs. That the vital energy of the nerves distributed to the respiratory, the circulatory, and the secreting organs is either uncommonly depressed or entirely annihilated is shown by the uniform and characteristic symptoms constituting the malady. The state of the respiratory function, particularly the laborious inspirations and rapid expirations, the coldness of the expired air, the involuntary and forcible retraction of the epigastrium and hypochondria, and the inexpressible oppression and anxiety referred to the chest, all indicate that the vital actions of the lungs are nearly suspended, and that the state of collapse and congestion, presented by them soon after death, had actually commenced during life. The state of the actions of the heart, the small, weak and nearly abolished pulse, and the black colour of the blood, evince a suspension of those changes produced upon this fluid during respiration, and demonstrate not only a paralysis of the nervous energy of the lungs, but a marked diminution of the nervous power actuating the heart and arteries; the loss of vital or nervous power being necessarily followed by a suspension of the changes produced upon the blood in the lungs, and by a total cessation of all circulating and secreting actions, unless the vital power be reanimated. The vital class of nerves, which forms a sphere of intimate union with each of its parts, supplies the lungs, the heart and blood-vessels, and all the digestive, assimilating and secreting viscera; and, when powerfully impressed in any one part experiences a co-ordinate effect throughout the whole. Hence the arrest of all the natural secretions so rapidly supervening upon the morbid impression made by the cause of the disease on the lungs,—hence the almost total abolition of circulation, assimilation and secretion,—hence the congestions of the large vessels and vital organs,—and hence also the rapid extinction of voluntary power, as a necessary consequence of the suspension of those

changes, which, being produced in the blood, support the nervous energy and all the voluntary and vital actions. The evacuations and cramps or convulsions, so generally observed, uniformly follow upon any sudden diminution of vital power, and upon congestions of the nervous centres; and seem to answer wise purposes in the economy, inasmuch as they tend to bring about a natural restoration of the vital actions, and to throw off the injurious load by which the springs of life are oppressed. They are efforts of nature to expel what is injurious, or to rally what is sinking. Where the powers of life are not too far reduced, these efforts will be energetic and often successful, as have been very frequently remarked in respect of the less dangerous cases of this pestilence; but when the vital energies are far sunk, these efforts will generally prove weak and inefficient, even when assisted by rationally devised means.

It has been now shown, both by reference to the appearances displayed by investigations after death, and by connecting these with the phenomena presented by the disease during life, that the requisite changes are not produced upon the blood by respiration; and that the emunctories, which remove from the circulating mass those materials which would prove highly injurious and irritating to the frame if they were allowed to remain in it, have their functions entirely suspended. Can it, therefore, be a matter of surprise, that when re-action of the vital powers of the system is brought about, very great disturbance, not only of the circulating system owing to the impure state of the blood, but also of the different emunctories, is immediately manifested? Indeed these consecutive states of disease, which have been well illustrated by observation, are entirely in accordance with *a-priori* inferences in pathology. But here we must stop and proceed with the next topic which we proposed for consideration.

II. The *contagious* or *non-contagious* nature of the pestilential cholera is one of the most important topics to which we can direct our attention; and one which, owing to the manner of viewing it, adopted both in this country and on the Continent, requires the serious consideration of the informed part of the community. Knowing that much important information had been furnished by the medical observers of the disease in India, which was either entirely overlooked, or wilfully neglected, we made it our business to examine carefully the mass of reports to the Medical Boards of the three Indian Presidencies, and there printed, and to which access can scarcely be obtained in this country, from their extreme scarcity. We had also an opportunity of referring to the medical reports at the India House. From those sources, therefore, and from others within our reach,

we can state that much misapprehension of this terrible disease has gone abroad, and been propagated by authorities that should have been more accurately informed on the subject. We can truly state that, although our attention has been much engaged by this disease, since the time of its irruption in the Delta of the Ganges, we approached this topic with our minds entirely unbiased, and desirous of adopting that view of it, which well-ascertained facts should most fully support. When, therefore, we perceive the first professional authorities stating opinions which have misled, and will still further mislead, those who have it not in their power to detect their unsound basis, it becomes the duty of those who have detected their unsoundness to place the particulars within the reach of the misinformed. One able writer remarks as an acknowledged and proved fact, "that by an overwhelming majority of the British medical officers, who have witnessed epidemic cholera in the East Indies, this disease is not considered to be of a contagious or infectious nature. A few incidents occurred which excited suspicions in the observers, that it might really after all possess this property. But scarcely a single person has advocated the doctrine of contagion with any earnestness." The same writer afterwards states, that "the almost unanimous and earnest recommendation of British practitioners was not to consider the cholera contagious." In another country an eminent physician, in an elaborate memoir on the disease, read very recently before the "Académie Royale de Médecine" of Paris, states, as a well-ascertained matter, "that in India the medical men and attendants on the sick were not more frequently seized by the disease than others of the community." Other instances of gross misstatement, made both by foreign and British writers, may be adduced, but these will suffice. Now, when we turn to the great authorities on the subject—to the official depositaries of the origin and rise of this pestilence, we find that all the reports—the Bombay, the Madras, and the Calcutta, favour the infectious nature of the disease more or less. It is true that a majority of the surgeons and assistant-surgeons in India, who sent reports to their respective Medical Boards, state that they do not believe the disease infectious; but a large number of them give a very different opinion, whilst the reasons assigned by many for believing the disease to result from other causes than infection, are actually favourable to the existence of an infectious property.

When we entered upon the present inquiry, and commenced with the Reports from the three Presidencies, in the order of their appearance, we had not completely made up our minds on the subject, as respects the manifestation of the disease in India. But in order to come to a just conclusion, we took the earliest and the best information, and read and noted every individual report which these bulky publications con-

tained: and so far are the remarks above quoted wide of the truth—so far are the medical men of India nearly unanimously against the belief in cholera possessing an infectious property, that the members of the Medical Boards of Bombay, in the preface to the Reports sent to them, and published at Bombay in 1819, state that the disease had extended from Poonah, to Panwell a considerable village in the main line of communication between Poonah and Bombay; that a man who had left Panwell and arrived at Bombay, a distance of about fifteen miles, was soon afterwards attacked by the disease, and communicated it to those attending him; that it was traced in parts adjoining Bombay, and on the Island, from village to village, by the arrival of persons affected with it from places where it was known to prevail; and that there were places which, from want of this sort of communication, had, up to the time of the report, entirely escaped. From the foregoing and other data, the members of the Bombay Board—the first to furnish information respecting the disease—conclude that "it appears to them incontrovertible that this disease is capable of being transported from one place to another, as in cases of ordinary contagion or infection, and also to possess the power of propagating itself by the same means that acknowledged contagions do, that is, by the acquisition of fresh materials with which to assimilate."—*Bombay Reports*, p. x. xi. &c.

In the same Reports we find Captain Sykes stating that he ascertained that the disease did not break out in any village "until that village had communication with a neighbouring place in which the disease existed;" and he furnishes several instances proving this fact. Besides, he states that the attendants on those first seized in his company were attacked, and that it spread from one of his servants to five, whilst the gentleman in the next tent had not one affected; and he remarks that he could add similar instances to those now adduced. (p. 118.) Mr. Coats, surgeon, in a letter to the President of the Bombay Medical Board, states that the idea most prevalent was that the disease was brought from Jaulna to Aurungabad; and that its progress could be traced distinctly through the villages on the chief road from Nagpore to those places.—p. 145. He afterwards states that the information as to the extension of the disease by infection was not only furnished by Europeans, but that some Brahmins had given similar information, without any particular inquiry on the subject having been made of them. From these and other facts, he concludes by considering the disease infectious; and that, "if it was occasioned merely by a distempered state of the air, it would have spread over the country with some regularity, but the epidemic seems generally to have travelled in lines along the post roads, and always to have required a succession of subjects for its propagation. In Candeish, where there is not sufficient population and but little intercourse between the villages, its progress was slow. At Pundergoor it made its appearance at the time of the great Jatra, and was spread at once in all directions by the pilgrims returning to their homes."—p. 150, 151.

Dr. Jukes, in his able report to the Board, states that the disease travelled along the high road from the Deckan to Panwell, and that he has not heard of any village in the Conkan that has had the disease but

by intercourse with places in which it had been already prevalent. "If it be something general in the atmosphere," he remarks, "why has it not hitherto made its appearance in some two distant places of the province at the same time? Nothing of this kind has, I believe, been observed: it still seems to be creeping from village to village, rages for a few days, and then begins to decline."—p. 173.

Dr. Taylor reports that "whenever the disorder appeared in any particular spot or family, a considerable proportion of the family or neighbours were attacked within a very short period of each other: on many occasions I have seen three or four of a family lying sick at once."—p. 195. Dr. Burrell informs us that in the short space of six days every attendant, in his hospital, on the patients affected with cholera, had the disease.—*Bombay Report*, p. 9. And Mr. Craw states that every one of the attendants, thirty in number, in the hospital of the 65th regiment, were attacked.

The next Report which issued from India was edited by Mr. Jameson, and was published at Calcutta in 1820. This gentleman, whilst he reasons in an extremely loose manner against the existence of an infectious property having been evinced by the disease, and without furnishing proofs of its absence, actually adduces evidence of the action of what he is endeavouring to disprove. Thus, where he is stating in general terms, and without any reference to reports from the different medical officers in the establishment, that the disease did not seem to be more prevalent in the tents or hospitals of the divisions of the army, in which the sick were treated, he communicates the following important fact in a note. "A Sepoy died of the pestilence. Five of the corps, who had shown no signs of illness, were employed to carry the body to the grave. They were all seized with the disorder during the ensuing night, and all died."—p. 130. Mr. Jameson, instead of appearing as the editor, or publishing reporter, of the opinions sent to the Calcutta Board, states his own views, endeavours to explain away those which are different from them; and thus the publication, which in the title-page professes to be a Report, conveys not a single line of information from any one on the Bengal establishment, excepting this writer himself. The work, therefore, cannot be looked upon as furnishing the opinions of the majority of medical men in this part of India, inasmuch as we find no authorities or opinions contained in it but those of Mr. Jameson himself; and these are evidently so perfectly at variance with one another, and with the ascertained laws by which those diseases, which are familiarly recognised as infectious, are grounded, that we cannot, even although we receive some of the facts which he adduces, consider him as an authority on this subject. In all his remarks he seems to suppose that contact is requisite to the propagation of contagious diseases, and that because some persons in contact with the sick so frequently escape, the cholera is not contagious. He overlooks the influence of predisposition, which is so remarkably influential in all maladies which perpetuate themselves; and he entirely forgets the operation of those causes which often come in aid of the poison or effluvium exhaled from the bodies of the diseased, even after the exposure of a healthy person to it, and which frequently determine its

action or call it into operation, when, without such reinforcement, it may have failed in producing its specific and deleterious effects. Notwithstanding those misapprehensions, and the evident bias which the whole work betrays in favour of pestilential cholera being non-infectious, numerous facts escape him, evidently calculated to support the opposite doctrine. Thus he informs us that the Medical Staff present with the Hansi force, was "*persuaded*" that the infection was extended to it from the Meerut detachment, which caught the disease on passing through Delhi, where it prevailed. And at another place he informs us, that the centre division of the Bengal army were infected by a detachment which joined it whilst subjected to cholera. He endeavours, however, to explain away this occurrence; but it is evidently shown, and even admitted, by himself, that the pestilence was introduced into this division, either by this detachment, or by some of the Rajah of Sumpter's troops, which were affected, and mixed with some regiments of the division.

After proceeding through a number of pages, in which Mr. Jameson reasons against the infectious nature of the disease, what was our surprise when we found him, towards the conclusion of his observationson the subject, express himself in the following manner:—

"This much, however, may be affirmed, from a review of the whole progress of the epidemic in this quarter, that the infectious medium, in whatever it consisted, was confined within a very circumscribed circle, and was very slowly extended to healthy parts of the atmosphere. If, setting aside the circumstances militating against it, we take it for granted that the infection was truly received by the centre and Hansi divisions from the detachments above mentioned, we must believe that the disorder, although not communicable by contact from person to person, was so from one large body to another large body; and that whenever the poison got head amongst a number of men, it assumed some new quality, so as, when mixed with the atmosphere, to become infectious. What constituted this additional quality, we cannot pretend to determine; but in support of its existence, we may quote the predilection of the epidemic for cities and camps; the infection of the left division, and the Nagpore and Meerut troops, immediately after entering into the diseased medium at Jubbulpore, Nagpore and Delhi; and the similar case of the troops and followers in attendance upon the Governor-General being attacked shortly after communicating with an infected village in the Gorruckpore district. To the same account may be placed the progressive march of the disorder from one part of an infected place to another, as in the centre and Hansi divisions, and more particularly the Rajpootana force, in which the virus seemed to be regularly propagated from corps to corps. In some instances the suffering body would appear to have sickened immediately upon coming into the poisonous medium, as was the case with the Nagpore troops, who were affected on the very day in which they encamped at the infected village of Gaongong; but more frequently one or two days would seem to have been requisite to bring the virus into action. Thus the Meerut detachment entered Delhi on the 29th, and was not affected till the 31st; thus too, the Hansi troops had not the disease till the 6th, the day after the junction of that detachment. Again, by those abetting the opinion of the disorder being communicated to the centre division by the Shergur detachment, it is stated that the first cases occurred on the 11th, two days after its junction. Lastly, the followers of the troops in personal attendance on the Governor-General in April first suffered on the 23d, three days after encamping near the infected village."—pp. 144—146.

This author afterwards adds that the disease recently appeared in a detachment of the Rajpootana force under such circumstances as at first seemed to warrant a suspicion of the existence of contagion. The foregoing quotation will be found to differ but little from the conclusions which an attentive consideration of the subject has led us to adopt, and which we will give in the sequel. We have thought it right to be thus particular in the investigation of this subject, because upon the adoption of correct ideas respecting it will mainly depend the employment of successful measures to circumscribe, entirely to prevent, or counteract the disease. And we hesitate not to maintain, that, owing to the very loose manner in which this subject has been considered, and to the neglect of means which the due interpretation of the information furnished even by the most sceptical as to the existence of infection, amongst the reporters to the India Medical Boards, ought to have led, are to be imputed, in no small degree, the extension of the disease not only throughout India, but its propagation also to other parts of Asia and to Europe. We have thought it most advisable to go to the original sources for information as to this and various other topics, because the opinions of the Indian reporters were generally derived from an extensive and varied experience of the disease during a number of years, and they were not certainly previously biased in favour of contagion, that being a property which the diseases of India seldom presented. Whilst also the information, which these able and most zealous men furnished us with, was of a superior description to that which has appeared elsewhere, the impossibility of obtaining it in this country—particularly the reports, the most valuable part of it, has induced us to refer to them in preference to other authorities. Having shown the identity of the Indian with the European epidemic, the arguments derived from facts observed in the one are equally applicable to both; and therefore we pursue the present topic, and demonstrate, from the most valuable and voluminous reports published by the Madras government, the inaccuracy of the views which have gone abroad respecting our experience of the disease in India, and which have vitiated the doctrines and paralized many of the measures, both preventive and curative, which have been adopted in Europe.

Mr. Scott, the editor of the numerous and able reports which were transmitted to the Madras Medical Board, and were published at length at that presidency, has given an able summary of the evidence which was furnished him, in conjunction with the results of his own observation. The value of the information here conveyed, its accordance with the most accurately observed facts connected with the manifestation of the disease in Europe, and the difficulty of access to the original, will be a sufficient apology for the length of the following quotation:—

"Bodies of troops in motion have been attacked, and have retained the disease, while it was unknown to the fixed inhabitants of the country through which they passed. One of two corps in a camp has been attacked, and the other has escaped the disease. Ships arriving from other parts of the world have never suffered under the assumed epidemic constitution of the atmosphere before reaching the shore. * * * * Diseases avowedly infectious, such as small-pox, measles, &c. have not at all times the power of spreading epi-

demically: for while it is certain that their exciting causes are never wholly extinct, it is only at particular periods that these diseases become epidemic; but we are unacquainted with the circumstances under which this power of epidemic propagation arises. The same may be the case with cholera. All the atmospheric phenomena, and other circumstances brought under the head of occasional causes, have, with little or no interruption, existed from the beginning of time until now, without producing cholera—consequently the super-addition of a new cause must be inferred."

"An European, proceeding on his journey to Trichinopoly, on the 15th October, was taken ill about a mile from the Mount, brought back to the house where he had passed the day, and there died. On the 17th the wife of that person, on the 19th the owner of the house, and on the 21st his wife, all experienced attacks of cholera, but recovered. Several of the native servants also suffered. The instances of the disease appearing at places immediately after the arrival of corps and detachments which were suffering from it are very numerous. For example, it appeared at Jaulnah immediately after the junction of a party from Nagpoor, amongst whom it prevailed. It appeared at Aurungabad, and at Malligaum in Kandeish, after the arrival of parties who had left Jaulnah at the time the disease was prevalent there, and amongst whom it had broken out on the march to these places. It appeared a second time at Malligaum, after the junction of the 1st battalion of the 5th regiment, in which cholera prevailed. It appeared at Secundrabad after the arrival of a detachment suffering from it, and it appeared afterwards in the villages through which the detachment had moved. It appeared at Gooty, where no case had been observed for six months before, immediately after the arrival of the 1st battalion of the 16th regiment of foot, in which it prevailed with great mortality. It is remarkable that the same formidable type of the disease which prevailed in the marching corps was communicated to the corps at Gooty. It also spread on that occasion to the adjacent villages. It also appeared in a detachment of artillery, previously perfectly healthy, upon their encamping on the ground which had been immediately before vacated by the 1st battalion of the 8th regiment, in which corps the disease prevailed. The bodies of several persons who had died of cholera remained exposed on the ground when it was taken up by the artillery."

"The prisoners in a jail, inclosed by a high wall, have escaped cholera, while it prevailed all around them; and the inhabitants of certain hilly ranges have also escaped the disease. These have been said to have interdicted all intercourse with the people below. When cholera is once established in a marching regiment, it continues its course in spite of change of position, food, or other circumstances. Its approach to a town has been traced from village to village, and its first appearance in a town has been in that quarter which was nearest the track of its progress.

"The sudden appearance and disappearance of cholera, however unlike the progress of known infectious diseases, is not admitted, as being irreconcileable with the doctrine of infection, especially if the disease be of sudden invasion after the application of the exciting cause."

"The relations who have attended on people ill of cholera, as well as the nurses appointed in military corps for that duty, and in general those whose employment has led them to be much with the sick, have been observed, in very many instances, to be attacked with cholera during, or shortly after, their attendance. The sick in hospitals labouring under other diseases have likewise been observed to be attacked with cholera, especially those who lay near the patients ill with that disease. Sometimes whole families have been swept off successively. Servants have often been observed to sicken after attending their masters."—p. xlviii. *et seq.*

This, however, is only a portion of the facts and circumstances advanced by Mr. Scott in proof of the infectious nature of this pestilence. In addition to the foregoing we may add the opinion of several able and experienced surgeons and physicians, contained in their reports to the Madras Government: Superintending Surgeon Duncan states, that "the 34th regiment carried the pestilence with them from Bellary to Nundydroog, and there was no trace of the disease in any village on the road: since the regiment passed, every village on the road has been attacked by cholera."—(*Mad. Rep.* p. 111.) Mr. Train adds, that "the attacks have shown a great disposition to run in families, and even among the attendants on the sick; and have in such cases been much more severe than usual."—p. 131. Mr. England observes in his report, which evinces great experience of the disease and extensive information, that "the disease has been greatly felt amongst the attendants on the epidemic patients at various places; consequently those occurrences, together with the progressive extension of the disease over a great extent of country, tend to establish its contagious principle."—p. 170. This gentleman proceeds to notice the extension of the disease from troops and travellers to places on the roads through which they had passed, and other facts similar to those already recorded in proof of its infectious nature. Mr. Chapman, after stating facts perfectly in accordance with those furnished by the reporters already quoted, adds, that he feels most confident of having experienced the attack of the disease, under which he had with difficulty recovered, from infection. Being anxious about a patient, he remained with him for several hours watching the progress of the disease. He felt nausea on quitting him, but attributed it to the peculiar fœtor evolved from the evacuations. On the following morning he was attacked with cholera, which nearly proved fatal. He proceeds—In the same detachment, a woman anxious about the safety of her child, slept in the hospital tent, in which several choleric cases were present; in the morning she was attacked with the disease and died. Three orderlies, also, slept in the hospital, and in the morning one of them was attacked, but recovered.

"Thus it will be seen, four persons sleep in an hospital containing the infection of cholera, and that two are on the following morning attacked with the disease. Whereas from the whole camp, consisting of 1500 or 1600, not five cases had occurred." "That the disease is contagious appears to have been observed by the natives themselves, and it thus commonly happens that the sick are avoided by those whose duty does not call on them to attend. A village in which cholera is prevailing is usually evacuated for a short period, until the disease is annihilated; these, and many others, are the proofs of their opinion of its contagious nature."—p. 189.

Mr. Stokes, in his very interesting and comprehensive Report, states several well-ascertained facts showing the infectious nature of the disease. The case of Mr. Rumbold, assistant surgeon, is almost demonstrative. He had been visiting some very bad cases, when he was seized with sickness at his stomach and giddiness; and coming out of the tent he fell down faint, and from that period he believed himself infected with the malady. He soon became one of its victims. The sickness and faintness with which Mr. Rumbold, in a state of high predisposition

"from fatigue of mind and body," was affected, may be easily accounted for by the information which Mr. Stokes gives in the following page. He states that in the worst cases—

"a peculiar and offensive fœtor was observed to issue from the body, particularly when it was covered with much sweat; it was very disagreeable when first perceived, and seemed to hang about the nostrils, exciting, long after, an unpleasant sensation."—p. 211.

This gentleman in another place remarks—

"It was found amongst many who came to the hospital, that some time previous to their being attacked, the disease had existed in the family to a greater or less extent, or some one branch had been ill or died of it. In others, it had spread progressively through the whole, or nearly; and among those who officiated as orderlies or attendants at the hospital, several were attacked and some died."—p. 217.

Mr. Patterson observes as follows:—

"I feel convinced that a corps on its march, catching the exciting cause, will carry it along with the corps for weeks, aud to a very considerable distance. Let this corps be halted on the finest spot of ground possible, let healthy corps join this, at short and regular intervals, and I feel convinced the disease would attack those healthy corps in a few days, and according to their respective arrivals. If this be not contagion, I do not know what name to give it."—p. 224.

Dr. Daun, whilst he refrains from giving any opinion as to the contagious nature of the disease, states the following facts in proof of it:—

"On the 10th, when in attendance on O'Brien, I became indisposed in such a way as to lead me to apprehend an attack of the epidemic. On the 12th Mr. Gray was attacked, after having been up part of the night with Thomas Flannigan. Mr. Gray was, during his illness, constantly attended by Lieutenants S. and M'D., who have since had both of them attacks of the epidemic, and no other officers except them at this station have been attacked. Perhaps also this opinion might seem to receive some additional confirmation from the fact of Serjeant Murdoch, the hospital serjeant, being attacked; and that Corporal Irwin was the non-commissioned officer in charge of the convalescents' ward, and by his duty required to be present twice daily in the hospital, and consequently must have been nearly as much exposed to the influence of contagion (if the disease really be contagious) as Serjeant Murdoch was."—p. 273.

And lastly, as respects the official reports, Mr. Kellie furnishes both facts and arguments, many of them similar to those already adduced in support of the infectious character of the pestilence.—*Mad. Rep.* pp. 68—77.

Such is the evidence, which we consider amply sufficient, to prove that the disease, even from the commencement of its ravages, evinced, unequivocally, infectious properties. If our limits would permit, we could also demonstrate from the same sources that the eyes of many were shut, by previously entertained dogmas on the subject of contagion, against this property; and that several, even where they were arguing against its existence, were actually adducing important facts in support of what we have been cautiously led to believe in, namely, that the disease manifested a tendency to propagate itself by means of a morbid effluvium exhaled from the bodies of the affected, similar to what is evinced by

fevers, whose infectious properties have been well ascertained and generally admitted. It appears to us extremely singular, that notwithstanding the evidence which we have now quoted, in the very words of the reporters to the different Medical Boards, no means of preventing the propagation of the malady were resorted to during the number of years it has existed in the east. Surely the doubts even of the sceptical ought to have led to a careful inquiry; and most certainly the natives of the country and the European population under the British dominion had even a *right* to expect that those placed to watch over their health, and to devise measures for its preservation, would have attended to the unequivocal opinions expressed by a number of the best informed medical officers in the service; and that, although a great difference of opinion existed amongst them, this very circumstance should have led to more intimate inquiry and a careful sifting of the truth. At all events the error—if error it could be called—should have been on the safe side; and the Medical Boards, superintending surgeons, or others, to whom the duty appertained, should have pointed out the importance of preservative measures to the government, and to civil or military officers placed over districts and corps, and have adopted the suggestion of one of their most able medical officers, who has stated the following in one of his Reports to the Madras Board.

"Whether or not the disease in question be contagious is a subject of infinite importance, and one which will require a vast experience unequivocally to determine; but where the slightest gleam of doubt obtains, it is surely better to adopt the means usual for the purpose of preventing its propagation, by appropriate *quarantine* of troops on the line of march, by preventing their immediate entrance into stations when under the influence of cholera. By these precautionary measures, I conceive it possible to preserve the lives even of thousands of individuals."—p. 189.

That no precautions of any description were taken in India to prevent the extension of the disease, we have it in our power to state: and hence most probably the reason of its extension over so very large a portion of the whole globe.

Before leaving this part of our subject, it may be as well to take a hasty glance at the opinions expressed by some other authors who, having observed the disease in India, have written respecting it. Mr. Orton, who published at an early period of the epidemic an able work on it, refers it to the electro-aerial influence. Mr. Annesley expresses himself in his publication against the doctrine of infection, and imputes the disease to a similar state of the air to that assigned by Mr. Orton, without being able to point out in what this state consists. But "de non-apparentibus et non-existentibus eadem est ratio." Mr. Annesley, however, appears not to have directed his attention sufficiently to the subject of infection in relation to the disease, to lead us to impart much importance to his disbelief in its existence. In proof of this we may merely refer to the circumstance of his quoting the letter of a correspondent containing the following remarkable proof of infection without adding any explanation or remark: "We have, however, been particularly fortunate till our arrival at this station, not having lost a man, or having one seriously ill, though we had been under canvass above five

weeks. We fell in with a battalion of native infantry who were suffering from cholera; the next day six Europeans were attacked, the number increased daily, and most of the first cases proved fatal." Mr. Searle also considers the disease not infectious; but from the execution of his work we are not disposed to place much reliance on his opinion. Dr. Kennedy, from extensive experience of the malady amongst both native Indians and Europeans, states facts and arguments, in his interesting publication, in proof of its infectious nature, and he justly places particular stress upon the peculiar odour exhaled from the bodies of the affected, as indicating the generation of a principle calculated to propagate the malady.

We have now shown, from the chief sources, that the disbelief of infection in respect of the pestilential cholera was not general in India—that the productions which issued from the Medical Boards very strongly favoured, and indeed proved, the existence of this property,—that two out of the three actually insisted upon the activity of its influence,—and that, therefore, the dangerous opinion, so very generally propagated, and even acted upon, both in this and foreign countries, that the authorities in India did not consider the disease infectious, is entirely without foundation in truth.

The identity of this pestilence with that which has ravaged the East has been proved, and, indeed, is scarcely any where called in question. Some authors have supposed that it has acquired new properties since its first appearance and early prevalence in India; and that its infectious tendency is one of these. But we are entirely convinced that this is not the case. Even varieties of the disease cannot be admitted: for it is essentially the same, presenting merely gradations of intensity, and modified effects according to these gradations. Several authors of great merit have supposed that the disease has originated, and still continues to arise from time to time, in a great number of distinct and far distant places, from those causes, to which the disbelievers in infection altogether impute it, and to which we shall immediately direct a brief attention; and that it has, owing to the combination of those circumstances and causes which are generally admitted to be productive of infection, assumed this character,—or in other words, that the malady was not originally infectious, but that it has had this property superadded to it, from the circumstances of imperfect ventilation, neglect of cleanliness, and crowding together of the sick. There cannot be the least doubt of those being influential sources of an infectious principle, and that they tend greatly to aggravate all diseases, whether infectious or non-infectious: but we have in the course of our inquiries remarked in numerous reports, and in the accounts of various observers, that the propagation of the malady from the affected to the unaffected frequently took place, although not to the same extent, or with the same malignity, in open, and airy, and thinly inhabited situations; and during opposite states of the atmosphere as respects both humidity and temperature.

Before we leave this part of the subject, it may be as well to examine shortly the proofs of the infectious nature of the disease furnished us in Europe and elsewhere. On this topic we shall be very brief, because,

having ascertained the identity of the malady in both hemispheres, and proved its infectious nature in India, it must necessarily possess the same character in Europe, unless counteracted by powerful means; and, therefore, a minute detail of facts is not required. Here we shall chiefly refer to the authors, whose works are placed at the head of the article. MM. Moreau de Jonnès and Fodere notice first the proofs which have been furnished of the introduction of the disease into the Isle of France by the Topaze frigate, the circumstance of about 20,000 of the inhabitants having been seized with it, above two-thirds of whom died, no precautionary measure having been resorted to: but that when the malady had been propagated to the adjoining Island of Bourbon, a sanitary cordon was established, and only 256 persons were attacked. When the disease appeared in Aleppo, in 1822, the French consul, M. De Lesseps, convinced of its infectious nature, placed himself, his family, and all those who wished to join him, in strict quarantine, in a place adjoining the town. This colony, consisting of about 200 persons, remained perfectly secure from the disease, although 4000 persons died of it in the city. If it proceeded from some unknown state of the air, as supposed by the anti-infectionists, to what cause can we impute the escape of those who had so secluded themselves, for they surely must have breathed the same air as those who were affected? M. Hubenthal states, that a peasant having arrived from Arkatal, on the borders of Persia, at the village of Neskutshne, to visit an uncle, was seized, the night of his arrival, with the disease. The persons engaged in restoring the heat of the body by frictions, &c., four in number, were attacked on the following day, and three of them died. Precautions were taken by the police to arrest the progress of the pestilence in the village, and it spread no further. If the causes of the seizure had existed in the air, or state of the locality, how came all the inhabitants, excepting those who had been exposed to the inhalation of the effluvium from the affected person, to escape?

According to the reports of the Medical Board of Ceylon the disease made its appearance in 1819, in Jaffnah, in Ceylon, imported from Palamcottah, with which Jaffnah holds constant intercourse, and thence it was propagated over the island. In August, 1820, the Leander is stated to have called at Trinquamalee from Pondicherry, and to have landed several of her crew affected with cholera. Trinquamalee soon afterwards was infected, and the disease was again propagated over the island. The island of Sumatra was believed to have been infected in 1819, from the intercourse carried on between Achem and Malacca across the intervening strait: and it seems to have reached Penang and Singapore towards the end of the same year, in the same manner. Dr. Labrosse states that the prisoners in the jail of St. Denis, in the Isle of Bourbon, who were employed in the removal of the dead bodies, all died of the pestilence:—that at the lazaretto, two servants alone escaped the disease,—and that in the hospital it was communicated to the attendants and other patients. M. Moreau de Jonnès states that the malady was imported into Muscat, in Arabia, by the English East India ships; and Dr. Salinas says that it was carried into the port of Bassorah, in 1821, by a vessel from India; and that it spread from this port, extending

from town to town, even as far as the coast of Syria. When the pestilence reached Manilla in 1820, where it was believed to have been imported by ships whose crews had been, or were, infected, the vessels in the harbour abstaining from intercourse with the shore entirely escaped. At Bankok, the capital of Siam, it was said to have been introduced by the ships trading there from British India. It was supposed that 40,000 persons were attacked in this city and vicinity. Its appearance in Java, in 1821, was likewise considered to have been owing to the unrestricted intercourse of infected vessels, particularly the junks trading to Samarang, whence the pestilence spread over the island, carrying off upwards of 100,000 of its inhabitants. Its irruption in Canton, in 1820,—in Macao, in 1823,—in the Moluccas in the same year,—and in various places in the Persian Gulf, and on the coast of the Arabian peninsula, was generally attributed to vessels which had arrived from infected places.

Dr. Meunier states, that, at Bagdad, where a third of the inhabitants was attacked, none was affected but those who approached the sick. Dr. Reimann says, that there was not a single instance of a town or village in Russia which contracted the malady without previous communication with houses or persons affected. Drs. Russell and Barry, who were sent by the British government to St. Petersburgh, in order to investigate the nature of the disease, state the number of medical men and hospital attendants attacked with cholera in that city was extremely great, particularly in ill-ventilated hospitals; and they, as well as Dr. Walker, who was sent to Moscow, express their belief in its infectious property. The last report from these gentlemen to the Privy Council, dated the 20th of September, at St. Petersburgh, has been, at the moment of writing, kindly allowed us for perusal, by Sir William Pym, and it abounds in proofs, remarkably in accordance with the quotation from Mr. Scott's Report, (see p. 479), demonstrating the infectious nature of the disease.

The director of sanitary police at Petersburgh, Dr. Reimann, after expressing his conviction that the Russian pestilence is entirely the same as that which has been so fatal in India, states that most decisive proofs have been furnished him, that it has not been of indigenous production, but has been introduced by persons who have arrived from infected places on the borders of the empire. He further states that the physicians of Moscow have not had sufficient facts furnished them in that capital, to judge with accuracy respecting its contagious properties, which he supposes to present certain peculiarities; but that he is convinced of its being less active, and less fatal, according as the place in which it is introduced is more airy, elevated, clean, and free from the usual cause of insalubrity; whilst its increased fatality in low, moist, thickly inhabited, and dirty places, has been demonstrated on numerous occasions. The personal and domestic cleanliness of the inhabitants has also a most remarkable effect upon the infectious property of the malady and its fatality. In proof of this, Dr. Reimann states, that in a village almost entirely peopled by Jews, 700 deaths occurred from amongst few more than 800 who were attacked. These conclusions

are perfectly in accordance with the laws of all infectious diseases, and are entirely such as *a-priori* reasoning would lead us to adopt.

In September, 1823, the disease first appeared at Astracan, and the Russian government resorted to preventive measures in order to arrest its progress. Whether or not those measures were the cause of its disappearance may be difficult to determine; but it did disappear, and it was not until 1830 that it showed itself again in that city. In 1828 the pestilence broke out in Orenburg, and was supposed to have been introduced either by the caravans which arrive there from Upper Asia, or by the Kirghis-Cossacks, who are adjoining this town, and were said to have been about this time affected with the disease. During the winter the number seized was not great; but in the spring of 1829 it raged severely, and extended to the villages in the province. During its prevalence in this part of the Russian empire, many of the physicians, who at first did not believe in its infectious properties, were induced to change their minds, chiefly owing to the circumstance of the disease breaking out in places very soon after the arrival of persons affected with it. Several instances of this description have been recorded by Dr. Lichtenstadt amongst the official documents published by him. Another circumstance favourable to the opinion as to its infectious nature was the peculiar irregularity of its course; and to this may be added, its extension in the lines of the principal roads and channels of traffic.

The introduction of the disease into Astracan, in 1830, was traced to a vessel which arrived from Baku, a town on the shore of the Caspian, and at that time affected with cholera. This vessel lost eight of her crew on the voyage, and the sick were brought to the lazaretto; a day or two after which the pestilence first appeared in this populous town. According to Dr. Solomov, it attacked the suburbs on the 27th July, and gradually extended to the nearest villages, and thence over the whole government. It proceeded through the Cossack stations and towns on the high way to Moscow, and up the streams of the Volga, at the mouth of which Astracan is situated. Its extension was attributed to the fugitives from the places successively attacked. After visiting the principal towns, and committing unheard-of ravages on the high roads to Moscow, the pestilence reached that city at the end of September. Towards the end of 1830, or soon afterwards, a body of troops from Koursk, a province at that time affected with the pestilence, was marched against the Poles. These troops carried this scourge along with them, affecting the places in their line of march through Podolia and Volhynia. In this way the towns of Astrog, Zaslaf and Luck became infected; and from the last of these places the disease passed the Bug into Poland. Here it appeared with the invading Russian army, and was communicated to Lublin, Siedlec, Praga, the Polish army, and Warsaw.

But little advantage would result from our tracing the disease through the various places which it has visited subsequently to Moscow and Warsaw. Its extension to Riga, Dantzic, Petersburgh, Brody, Lemberg, and more recently to Berlin and Vienna, is well known; but the exact channels and modes of propagation have not yet been made public with

sufficient accuracy: enough, however, has been already shown, as to the manner of its extension elsewhere, to lead us to suspect that similar ways of transmission have been observed in its progress to these places, as to those already referred to; and the recent reports received from our commission at St. Petersburgh confirm this inference.

Before we leave this part of our subject, we will notice those causes to which the disbelievers in its infectious nature have imputed the disease, with some of their arguments against this property.

Many of the earliest reporters and writers on this pestilence, who disbelieved in its infectious nature, had recourse to the state of the seasons in India to account for its occurrence. Some referred it to the prevalence of easterly winds, with long-continued or heavy falls of rain, by which the air was rendered moist and vitiated,—others, to sudden or extreme variations of the electrical conditions of the atmosphere, which variations were mere suppositions and not matters of corroborated observation,—not a few, to the extrication of some peculiar terrestrial miasm, projected in distinct or remote places from one another, and proceeding in singular currents, so as to involve a part of a village, or detachment, or even company of a regiment, whilst the vicinity was intact,—and several could detect no other cause for it, but exhalations proceeding from low, moist, and swampy situations, and other sources of malaria, rendered peculiar by some unknown cause, or productive of this peculiar disease from errors in diet or incautious exposure. Now it should be kept in recollection, that the existence of all, or any of these, was merely supposition; that proofs were never adduced, and that the commonest meteorological observations were generally wanting. We find no uniform relation between the appearance of the malady and marked variations in the barometer, thermometer, or hygrometer, even in the few places where these were registered; but we frequently observe the irruption of the pestilence in states of season, weather, and atmosphere opposite to those to which it has been confidently imputed. But admitting that all the above-mentioned causes were actually in existence, (and we believe they were frequently present,) particularly during the severer irruptions of the disease, they merely show the truth of a part of our doctrine, viz. that the infectious nature of the disease was more strikingly evinced during conditions of the situation, season, and atmosphere, of acknowledged insalubrity,—that whatever tended to lower the energies of the frame, as such causes indisputably do, favour the operation of the infectious effluvium issuing from those affected by this pestilence, and render it tenfold more prevalent, when they are concentrated or uncommonly active; and that, in this respect, as well as in many others, the infection of pestilential cholera observes the same laws as other infectious maladies; as scarlatina, measles, &c., manifesting itself in isolated or sporadic cases, during healthy states of season and atmosphere, and breaking out into epidemics of greater or less extent, during seasons of marked insalubrity, or peculiar constitutions, and vicissitudes of the air.

So far from disputing, therefore, the influence of many of those causes to which many highly respectable authors have imputed this malady, we

fully admit their operation, even although their existence is more a matter of inference than of observation. We deny, however, that they are sufficient for the production of the destructive effects which at present distress the human species; and contend that no such effects having, in the history of our species, been known to result from them, we cannot, with justice, admit, that they are capable of producing them at the present epoch: we view them merely in the light of predisposing and concomitant causes coming in aid of a more powerful agent, which, emanating from the bodies of the affected, contaminates those of the predisposed in such a manner as to give rise to the same morbid actions as characterized those which generated it;—that those imputed causes favour the operation of this infecting agent, 1st, by predisposing the frame to its influence; 2d, by reinforcing or assisting its action; and 3d, by determining or calling into operation the infecting principle. The predisposing and reinforcing influence of the different causes already referred to cannot be denied. We know, or at least observe, too much of their influence in respect both of contagious and infectious diseases which are familiar to us, to doubt their operation as regards the present pestilence: indeed their action would be a matter of undoubted inference to the well-informed physician, independently of the results of observation in relation to it. But besides, there are others not yet enumerated, of equal influence, not only in favouring the operation of the efficient agent of the malady, but also in calling it into action after the frame has been exposed to its invasion. The chief of these are depression of the mind; fear of the disease; physical and moral debility; low living and unwholesome diet; anxiety of mind; previous disorder of the digestive organs; neglect of personal and domestic cleanliness; deficient or filthy clothing; exposure to cold; the immoderate use of intoxicating liquors, or excesses of any description; sleeping on the ground, or in low, ill-ventilated apartments, or in the open air; the use of cold, indigestible, or unripe fruits; cold drinks when the body is overheated; fatigue; sudden arrest of the cutaneous exhalations, however produced, &c. All of these, whether acting shortly before, or at the time, or even soon after the body is exposed to the invasion of the infectious effluvium, will favour the production of the malady, particularly if at the same time those causes, whether proceeding from the state of the locality, or of the air, to which allusion has been already made, are also present.

It has been already stated, that a great number of the medical men called upon to treat this pestilence, have chiefly imputed it to this latter class of causes, denying altogether the influence of infection; and one of the chief arguments which they advance, in order to show the absence of this property, is the escape of many of the attendants in hospitals, and of the medical men called upon to treat the disease. But they overlook the circumstance, shown by the history of the malady in every country it has visited, of its requiring a certain predisposition of frame to manifest itself, even although exposure by contact of, or proximity to, the affected be indisputed. Moreover, we verily believe that this malady is infectious in as imilar manner to measles and scarlet or typhus fever; that is, not by contact, but from the inhalation into the lungs, along with the air, of

the morbid effluvium given out from the body or bodies of the affected. We know that the mere contact of persons suffering from the diseases now mentioned, will not communicate them even to the predisposed; whilst the presence in the air which is breathed of a scanty portion of the effluvium given off from the affected during their progress, will often produce them: and such, we are confident, is the case with the pestilential cholera. We further know, that it is impossible to perpetuate these acknowledgedly infectious diseases by inoculation, when access of the morbid effluvium to the lungs is prevented. It, therefore, is no matter of surprise to us to learn that M. Foy, and others of the young physicians who visited Warsaw, failed to propagate the malady by inoculation, or by tasting the matters vomited by the affected; even although the tasting matters vomited, under any circumstances, may well have turned the stomachs of many. Indeed, though cautiously convinced of the existence of its infectious nature, we could have told those gentlemen, that inoculation, or the introduction of the morbid secretions into the stomach of the healthy, even were they predisposed to an attack of the malady, would have failed, in accordance with the laws which infectious diseases observe, to communicate it, provided the effluvium proceeding from the bodies of the affected be prevented from being inhaled into the lungs. We as firmly believe that it is the presence of this effluvium in the lungs, and its influence on the predisposed, that paralyzes the nervous energy and functions of this very important organ, occasions the singular collapse of it, observed after death and evinced during life by the state of the hypochondria, epigastrium and respiratory organs, and gives rise to all the consecutive phenomena of the attack, as we are confident of any fact in pathology.

Our readers may think that more space has been devoted to this part of the subject than it deserves. We are, however, of a very different opinion. We consider it of the most transcendent importance; for upon accurate views respecting it altogether depends the success of measures to prevent its extension, and even to remedy it where prevention has failed. Before, however, we proceed to discuss the *third* topic we proposed for our consideration, we shall briefly recapitulate the inferences which may be deduced from the evidence which has been furnished us on the *first* and *second* heads of our subject.

1. The pestilential cholera seems to be propagated by an animal miasm or effluvium of a peculiar kind, emanating from the bodies of the affected; and this effluvium, being inhaled with the air into the lungs, acts as a poison on the class of nerves which supplies the respiratory, the assimilating, the circulating and secreting viscera, vitiating also the whole mass of blood, and thereby occasioning a specific disease, which in its turn gives rise to an effluvium, similar to that in which itself originated; which, also, in like manner perpetuates its kind, under the favourable circumstances of predisposition, aerial vicissitudes, &c. and thus

a specific form of disease is propagated far and wide, as long as a concomitance of causes favours its perpetuation.

2. The morbid impression of this effluvium or poison upon the nerves of organic life, and probably the effect of its introduction also into the current of the circulation, are of a sedative kind, rapidly destroying the vital energy of the one, and vitiating the other, and thereby giving rise to the characteristic phenomena of the malady.

3. The impression of this effluvium on the organic class of nerves, and the vitiated state of the blood, may be viewed as the proximate cause not only of the disturbance evinced by the respiratory, the secreting, the assimilating and the circulating functions, but also of the actions of the stomach and bowels, as well as of the muscular spasms, the sinking of all the vital and animal powers, of the shrunk and collapsed state of the surface of the body, of the black thick state of the blood, and of the rapid depression of the animal temperature.

4. The morbid state of the perspiration, and the peculiar appearance of the evacuations, proceed from the alteration produced in the condition of the blood; and it is chiefly through the medium of the cutaneous surface, and of the mucous membranes, assisted, perhaps, also by the other secreting viscera, that this morbid state of the blood is remedied, and its impurities removed; and that the morbid effluvium or poison which propagates the disease, is formed on these surfaces and membranes during the elimination of the impurities generated in the circulation.

III. The above inferences, drawn from an extensive view of what is known of the disease, as it has appeared in Asia and in Europe, lead to various considerations calculated to arrest the progress of the pestilence, and to remedy it when an attack has not proceeded too far in the destructive processes which we have pointed out. On each of these topics we shall offer a few remarks, and *first* we shall notice the remedial means calculated to cure the disease, when a rational hope can be entertained of accomplishing this important object.

The *remedial measures* usually adopted by medical men, both in Asia and in Europe, to remove the disease, have almost uniformly been directed to the following ends:—1st. To remove the internal congestions of blood characterizing it; 2d. To rouse the depressed energies of the frame, and bring about a salutary state of action; and 3d, to allay the spasms of the digestive canal, and of the muscles of voluntary motion. One of the most efficacious means which can be employed, and one which has been found the most successful, when the energies of life have not been too far reduced by the severity of attack, to fulfil the first intention, is full blood-letting; by it the load which oppresses the springs of life, and prevents their reaction, is lightened, and the

body to be moved is thereby brought to a nearer relation to the moving power. But while the mass to be moved is thus reduced, care must also be taken to increase the moving power by a judicious administration of stimulants, of which dry external heat and frictions are amongst the most efficacious. When the vital energies are so far depressed that the stagnant blood will no longer flow, or when the disease is far advanced, blood-letting has been found prejudicial rather than productive of advantage. The powers of reaction are now entirely destroyed, and this, as well as most of the means hitherto resorted to, are seldom productive of relief. Moreover, even early in the attack, and when blood may be readily procured from a vein, the abstraction of this fluid has not proved so serviceable in some manifestations of the disease as in others. In individual cases, a due reference should be made to the habit, constitution, and previous health of the patient, as well as to the state and progress of the disease. At the same time that depletion is being instituted, as well as in cases where this measure cannot be practised, internal medicines should be administered, in order to rouse the energies of the nervous and vascular systems; and thereby, whilst the second and third intentions of cure are being fulfilled, the internal load of congestion will also be removed. Of the various internal stimuli which have been recommended—and almost every one in both the mineral and vegetable kingdoms of nature has been tried—the most eligible, and we believe the most successful, are camphor in large doses, with laudanum, opium, and ether; ammonia, the aromatic and essential oils, particularly the oils of peppermint, cloves, cajeput; the spirits of mint, lavender, cardemoms, &c.; solutions of phosphorus in ether, or in oil; the magistery of bismuth; large doses of musk; the hot spices, and numerous warm and aromatic plants.

Our limits will not permit us to enter much more into details; but we may remark that *M. Benoit* states that he found the combination of camphor, laudanum, and sulphuric ether, with the external use of sinapisms to the epigastrium and extremities, extremely successful in the visitation of the pestilence at Manilla in 1820; he losing only 21 patients out of 400. Mr. Craw (*Bomb. Reports*) speaks very favourably of large doses of ammonia and musk. Dr. Peitsch (*Fodéré*, p. 261) states that his practice in Java showed the uncommon efficacy of two parts of spirits of mint, one part of spirit of lavender, and one of laudanum, taken in doses of a spoonful, until the vomiting ceased. Mr. Milward (*Bomb. Rep.*) found four drachms of magnesia to remain in the stomach, and procure natural evacuations, other means having failed. The treatment, which was recommended by Mr. Corbyn, and very generally adopted in India, where it was followed by Mr. Annesley, and several other writers, consisted in from fifteen to twenty grains of calomel, washed down with sixty drops of laudanum, and twenty drops of the oil of peppermint, in two ounces of water. He adopted full blood-letting in Europeans, and repeated these medicines every three hours until relief was obtained. The use of the oils of peppermint and cajeput was very general in India, and they seem to have been frequently extremely serviceable, but as adjuvants merely. Many of the phy-

sicians at Warsaw ascribed very beneficial effects to the magistery of bismuth.

Calomel was very uniformly employed in India, and generally in conjunction with opium, in some form or other, and certainly few remedies succeeded better in allaying the vomiting, when the disease was neither uncommonly severe nor too far advanced. In cases of moderate severity, and when given early in the attack, it seems to have been remarkably beneficial in restoring the secretions of the abdominal viscera, particularly of the liver, and in these, in conjunction with bleeding, it seems to have had no mean share in preventing the consecutive states of disease, into which this pestilence so frequently passed, more particularly the nervous and malignant state of fever sometimes following it in India, but more frequently in Russia. Mr. Ogilvy (*Bomb. Rep.* p. 210) remarks that where the calomel affects the mouth, the consequent symptoms of bilious fever were not observed.

Besides the remedies already noticed, we may enumerate the application of moxas, and the actual cautery, to the scrobiculus cordis, and the use of stimulating lavemens. Dr. Mahir, of the Polish army, attributed his recovery to large doses of opium and prussic acid, with lavemens of assafœtida. Frictions, either with dry substances, or with liniments, which will not occasion cold by evaporation, are always beneficial. The same may be said of dry heat, as the application of hot bricks, hot salt and bran, hot oats, &c. around the body. In general, it may be remarked of the use of remedies in this disease, that in its most severe attacks, or when far advanced before medical aid is procured, scarcely any means, however well and energetically devised and practised, will arrest its fatal tendency; whilst the less severe visitations will generally be removed by any of the remedies enumerated, when judiciously combined and employed; and we have reason to suppose that the slightest manifestations of the malady will even, by means of the tumult excited in the frame, operate their own cure; and hence the reputation acquired by various medicines and methods of treatment. There are few diseases, perhaps, which, while they preserve a perfect identity of character, present a greater range in grade than this; excepting, indeed, those maladies which propagate themselves in a similar manner to it. We conceive, therefore, that it is chiefly to the mildness of the attack that we are to attribute the imputed success of such remedies as succcesive draughts of warm milk, olive oil, the Glauber's salts, common salt, and various other mild preparations. In the more intense visitations of the disease, where the depression of the vital energies of the frame and the vitiation of the blood are extreme, remedial agents must possess a co-ordinate degree of activity, in order to produce any effect whatever upon the frame.

Before we leave this part of our subject, it will be well to notice the probable effect of remedial means administered through the channel of the respiratory organs. We have already argued, and, we may add, shown, that it is through these organs that the specific cause of the disease invades the frame, and that they suffer in a most remarkable manner from its impression, having their functions altogether paralyzed.

If this view be entertained, the means of individual prevention which we are about to recommend will appear deserving of adoption; and the directing of medicinal agents to this quarter will not be considered unreasonable. Perhaps the inhalation of the nitrous oxide gas, or common air with a slight addition of oxygen, will be the most energetic remedies that can be employed in this way. Other means, also, which will readily suggest themselves to the well-informed physician, may be employed.

The writer of this article, having been called on in various fields of practice, and during an experience of many years, to treat diseases sometimes as rapid in their progress, and generally as fatal in their results, and even more so, on some occasions, under the usual methods of treating them, as the malady now the subject of consideration, conceives that he would not be discharging his duty to the community, if he neglected to state the means of cure, which, from his having employed them successfully in diseases of equal malignity, and of an analogous nature to pestilential cholera, he would be induced to employ in it. When approved means fail, others, which have succeeded in similar states of morbid action, particularly when they cannot prove detrimental, should be resorted to; and we are not aware that the following means, particularly as respects the combination of them, have ever been employed in this disease. If the writer were called to a severe case of cholera, besides directing blood-letting, if the circumstances and symptoms of the case appeared to warrant it, we would recommend the patient to have a bolus consisting of from ten to fifteen grains of camphor, an equal number of grains of calomel, one or two grains of opium, and ten drops of any essential oil, as of mint, cajeput, &c. with a sufficient quantity of conserve of roses. This should be administered without any regard to the presence of vomiting. If this be retained, another may be given, and repeated in from one to two, three, or four hours, according to the urgency of the attack; but if rejected, it should be immediately repeated, until it at last remains. At the same time external heat should be applied, and frictions, with a liniment, composed of two ounces each of liquid ammonia, of olive oil, and of camphor, with three ounces of spirits of turpentine, and a few drachms (from three to six) of hard soap and cayenne pepper, to which one or two drachms of cajeput and lemon oils may be added, ought to be assiduously employed. From two to four hours after the exhibition of the bolus, a draught, consisting of from two drachms to half-an-ounce each of spirits of turpentine and olive oil, with a few drops of the above essential oils, and forty grains of magnesia, should be taken in mint water; and if it be rejected from the stomach, another should be given, and repeated, if again rejected, in half-an-hour afterwards; if retained, not until from six to twelve hours, when another may be taken. We have seen cases where the most urgent vomiting existed; and yet the above remedies (although both the bolus and the draught were taken at the same time) allayed, instead of aggravating this symptom. In order to promote the influence of these means, a lavement, consisting of twenty grains of camphor, from half an ounce to an ounce and a half of spirits of turpentine, and an equal quantity of olive oil, in a suitable

vehicle, should be administered, and repeated according to the circumstances of the case. Much will depend upon the succession in which these remedies should be given, the periods which should be allowed to elapse between their exhibition, on the doses, and the decision with which they may be prescribed. When the irritability of the stomach continues, and if the attack be severe, then flannels wrung as dry as possible out of very hot water, and immediately soaked in oil of turpentine, ought to be instantly applied, as warm as possible, over the stomach and abdomen, and retained there, or renewed, until a decided effect is produced. This is the most powerful means we are acquainted with, and the most successful, in procuring reaction and restoring the heat of the body. In aid of these means, and when reaction is commencing, effervescent draughts, composed of the carbonate of ammonia and the pyroligneous acetous acid, in mint water, with the addition of aromatics, may be given. Having found the above treatment eminently successful in diseases of remarkable malignity and fatality—by rousing the energies of life, restoring the secretions, and removing internal congestions—we have given a brief detail of it in this place.

As intimately connected with the *preservative measures* to be adopted against the pestilential cholera, there are two facts which require to be kept in recollection:—1st. That a peculiar principle or effluvium proceeding from the diseased is necessary to the communication of the malady; and 2d. That peculiar predisposition to receive or to become affected by this effluvium is equally required. In what this predisposition consists is not sufficiently known, further than that the debilitated, the physically and morally depressed, and those the vital energies of whose frame are greatly reduced, by whatever means, are more disposed than the robust and well-fed to contract the disease. The measures of prevention which may be recommended naturally divide themselves into those which concern individuals more especially, and which they may adopt of themselves and for their own safety, and into those which concern the community generally, and which require the sanction and assistance of governments.

Under the former of these heads may be comprehended the injunction of avoiding the predisposing and exciting causes of the disease. Whatever tends, directly or indirectly, to debilitate or fatigue the body; whatever lowers its vital energy, as excesses of every description, low and unwholesome diet, disposes to the operation of the exciting cause of the malady. On the other hand, whatever tends to support this energy, and preserve, in their due regularity, the healthy functions of the frame, serves to render it impregnable to this agent. Exposure to cold, to chills, to the night-dew, to wet and moisture; the use of cold fluids, and of cold, flatulent, and unripe fruits, ought to be carefully avoided. If at any time exposure to the night-air or to cold and moisture is inevitable, the system should be fortified against them, but the mode of doing this requires caution. It should not be attempted, unless when better means are not within reach, by wines or spirits, and even then these should be used in very moderate quantity; otherwise they will leave the system, as soon as their stimulating effects have passed off, more exposed than before to the invasion of the infectious effluvium

producing the disease. Medicinal tonics, however, and those more especially which determine the circulation to the surface of the body, at the same time that they improve the tone of the digestive organs and promote the regular functions of the bowels and biliary system, may be resorted to on such occasions. For this purpose the infusions or decoctions of bark, of cascarilla, of calumba, &c. with the spirits of Mindereri, or any warm stomachic medicine; or the powdered bark, or the sulphate of Quinine, or the balsams, may be taken either alone or with camphor, or with the spicy aromatics. These medicinal means are especially called for whenever the disease is present in a town or house in which the person resides; and they should be had recourse to when he retires to sleep, and in the morning before he leaves his apartment. He should, moreover, avoid sleeping in low and ill-ventilated apartments; and be equally distrustful of sleeping near, or even of passing through, in the night-time, close and unwholesome situations and streets, particularly without the medicinal means now suggested.

The state of the stomach and bowels should be always attended to, and their functions regulated and carefully assisted; but in no case should these objects be attempted by cold, debilitating medicines, such as salts. The warm stomachic laxatives, or those combined with tonics, may be adopted with advantage as occasion may require. Particular attention ought to be paid to personal and domestic cleanliness. The surface of the body should be kept in its natural and perspirable state. The use of flannel will be useful for this purpose. Excessive perspirations ought to be avoided. The diet should be regular, moderate, nutritious and easy of digestion. Whilst every approach to low living should be shunned, its opposite ought never to be indulged in. The stomach should have no more to do, than what it can perfectly accomplish, without fatigue to itself, but to the promotion of its own energies. It must never be roused to a state of injurious excitement by means of palatable excitants, nor weakened by over-distension or too copious draughts of cold relaxing diluents.

The state of the mind also requires judicious regulation. It ought never to be excited much above, nor lowered beneath its usual tenour. The imagination must not be allowed for a moment to dwell upon the painful considerations which the disease is calculated to bring before the mind; and least of all ought the dread of it to be encouraged. There is a moral courage sometimes possessed by individuals who are the weakest perhaps as respects physical powers, enabling them to resist more efficiently the causes of epidemic and infectious diseases, than the bodily powers of the strongest, who are not endowed with this species of mental energy. Those who dread not the attack of epidemic diseases, and who yet exercise sufficient prudence in avoiding unnecessary exposure to their predisposing and exciting causes, may justly be considered as subject to comparatively little risk from them. This, we are persuaded, is particularly the case as respects the pestilential cholera, and we wish to impress it upon the minds of those whom the observation concerns. On all occasions a fool-hardy contempt or neglect of ailments, especially those affecting the stomach and bowels,

ought to be guarded against, and the best medical advice be immediately procured upon the first manifestation of disorder.

During the occurrence of the disease in our vicinity, or families, these precautions are still more imperatively required. A free ventilation of every apartment ought to be constantly observed; in conjunction with fumigations, by means of aromatic substances kept slowly burning, or by the vapours of the cloruret of lime. The attendants on the sick should especially attend to the measures now prescribed, and ought never to exert their attentions on the affected so near their persons as to inhale the effluvium emanating from them, without at least fortifying the vital energies in the way pointed out; and they should carefully avoid entering upon those duties with an empty stomach, or when fatigued. Besides burning warm aromatic substances, and odoriferous gum-resins, in the apartments, and in those adjoining them, in which affected persons are or have been confined, a saturated solution of camphor in aromatic vinegar, or in the pyroligneous acid, should be occasionally sprinkled on the floors, furniture, and bed-clothes. These means, with a thorough ventilation and a due attention to cleanliness, will not only, we are persuaded, counteract the influence of the effluvium proceeding from the affected, and ward off its action even on the predisposed, but will also prevent the clothes, bedding, or furniture of the apartments of the sick from becoming imbued with it to such an extent as can communicate the malady. They are within the reach nearly of all; and, in the event of the extension of the pestilence to any considerable town or city, if care were taken to see them put in practice, under the direction of medical councils of health, one of which should be formed in each district, or quarter, much good would result from them.

With respect to measures which require the sanction of the government we cannot enter, particularly on the present occasion. Those which have already been taken in this country have been marked by wisdom and decision, and seem founded on a correct estimate of the nature of the disease. As respects the formation of local committees or councils of health, perhaps considerable improvement, both in their constitution, and in the modes of accomplishing their ends, upon the recommendations issued by the Board of Health, may be suggested. But as we do not contemplate the extension of the malady to this country, at least before the appearance of our next number, we may then offer some suggestions on the subject.

In respect to the works which we have placed at the head of this article, it is not to them that the medical inquirer can look for the best information on the disease to which he should aspire. The best sources of knowledge, particularly in respect of treatment, even at the present day, are the reports from the Indian Presidencies, especially those from Madras, and as regards certain of the means of cure, the works of Mr. Annesley and Mr. Orton. Of the publications now before us the best are those by MM. Moreau de Jonnès, Fodéré, Harles, and Desruelles.

CRITICAL SKETCHES.

ART. IX.—*Novum Testamentum Græcè, novâ Versione Latinâ donatum, ad optimas recensiones expressum, selectis Variis Lectionibus perpetuoque singulorum librorum argumento instructum, (additâ III. Pauli ad Corinthios epistolâ,) edidit* M. Fred. Aug. Adolph. Naebe. Lipsiæ, 1825.

THE multiplied editions of the Greek Testament, with critical apparatus of greater or less extent, which of late years have appeared in Germany, sufficiently attest the ardour with which sacred literature is there cultivated. In the arrangement of the Greek text of the edition which we now introduce to the notice of our readers, M. Naebe has chiefly followed the revision of Dr. Griesbach; consulting, however, the critical labours of Doctors Schulz and Scholz, and availing himself of not a few of the emendations proposed by Knappe, Schott, Vater, and Titmann. He has also carefully corrected the punctuation throughout. In framing his Latin version, the editor acknowledges his obligations to the critical and exegetical commentaries and treatises of Grotius, Wetstein, Noesselt, Keil, Rosenmuller, Kuinoel, Paulus, Pott, Borger, Heinrichs, C. Titmann, Tholuck, Winer, Fritsche, Wahl, Bretschneider, and many others, and especially to the Latin versions of Castellio, Reichard, Schott, Thalemann, and Jaspis. His version is, what it professes to be, accurate, perspicuous, and concise; and though it pretends not to elegance of Latinity, it is no where barbarous or uncouth. The *principal* various readings only are given, which are best supported by critical testimonies: and the brief summaries of the contents of the several chapters in each book, will be found a convenient aid to the student. In compiling them, M. Naebe has followed sometimes Fritsche, sometimes Knappe, sometimes Jaspis, sometimes Eichhorn, and sometimes Hug, according as one or other of these critics appeared to have treated the several subjects with the greatest accuracy. The third epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, which is here given in La Croze's Latin version, from the Armenian translation of the New Testament, is confessedly apocryphal: it is merely a literary curiosity, and of no use whatever to the biblical student. Those who are desirous of possessing a Greek *and* Latin copy of the New Testament, will find this neatly-printed edition of M. Naebe one of the most useful which has ever issued from the press.

ART. X.—*Historia Ecclesiæ Evangelicæ Augustanæ Confessioni addictorum in Hungariâ Universâ; præcipuè vero in tredecim oppidis Scepusii.* Halberstadt, 1830. 8vo.

A HISTORY of the Protestant Churches in Hungary is a desideratum in ecclesiastical literature. Mosheim's account of them is miserably brief and defective; and the supplemental notice, supplied by the English

continuator of Dr. Maclaine's Translation, furnishes very little additional information. The present volume is confined to those churches which adhere to the confession of Augsburg. The anonymous author has specified in his preface the various authentic sources, both manuscript and printed, from which he has drawn the facts he has narrated: and his work might have been entitled a history of the persecutions of the Protestant Churches in Hungary: for, from the time of Luther, nearly to the date of this history, the Protestants appear to have had but few intermissions (in all not exceeding seventy years) from the most oppressive persecutions, on the part of the Romish Clergy. It is, however, only an act of justice to the reigning sovereign, Francis II., to state that, from his conduct towards his Protestant subjects in *other* parts of his dominions, the Hungarian Protestants acquit him of being privy to their more recent persecutions, which they charge on the Romish priesthood, and especially on the Jesuits. No ecclesiastical history which may hereafter be published, can make any pretensions to accuracy or completeness of information, the author of which does not avail himself of this interesting narrative.

ART. XI.—*Origine delle Feste Veneziane*, di Giustina Renier Michiel. (The Origin of the Venetian Festivals, by Justina Renier Michiel.) 6 vols. 12mo. Milano, 1829.

OUR readers are probably aware, that in Italy there is, or at least was, no medium in female education, and that whilst the great body of women, even of the higher classes, could hardly scrawl their names, and were destitute of such common information as may be acquired at a Sunday-school, some of their compatriot sisters were Professors of Law, Mathematics, Philosophy, and what not, at the most celebrated universities of the Ausonian Peninsula. Nay, at so early an age were they capable of thus officiating as Learned Doctors, that more than one of these female lecturers, as we learn from good and credible authority, has been obliged to draw a curtain between herself and her class, lest the beauty of the teacher should divert the student's attention from her lessons. This, *mutatis mutandis*, still appears to be the state of the case. We are not indeed aware that now, in this ridicule-loving 19th century, any of the gentler half of the species actually occupy scientific chairs at Bologna or Padua; but we certainly do think it somewhat analogous, and not a little remarkable, that the only two Italian ladies whom, in the course of our critical labours we have met with as writers, should leave the task of delighting their countrymen or women, by delineating the emotions of the heart or weaving the web of romantic fiction, to men, to the Manzonis, the Rosinis, &c., in order to attempt those departments of literature esteemed more especially masculine. Of these fair Italians one is a satirist, by name Teresa Albarelli Vordoni,* and

* The poems of La Vordoni, as she is designated by Italian critics, were published in 1824, prior to the establishment of this Review, and though clever, seemed scarce sufficiently so, to justify our making them the subject of an article.

the other, a noble Venetian of a race that has given Doges to Venice, is the author of the six little volumes before us; which we opened under an idea, deduced partly, it must be confessed, from the sex of the writer, of their containing a collection of tales adapted to, or founded upon various Venetian festivals. They proved, in strict accordance with the facts just stated concerning Italian women, less amusing, perhaps, but far more instructive than we had anticipated.

The *Origine delle Feste Veneziane* is a work of very considerable research, both historical and antiquarian, and replete with valuable matter;—valuable at least to all who wish to make themselves really acquainted with the lively and peculiar nation (if the term nation may be applied to the inhabitants of a single city) who, under a foreign yoke, must, we apprehend, rapidly lose much of their idiosyncratic difference from other Italians. The book consists of a description of a great number of popular and national festivals, mostly annual, and an account of the circumstances whence they derived their origin, many of which are important events in Venetian history. The festivals are frequently depicted with the zest of recollected enjoyment, and a spirit of fervent patriotism pervades the whole, which might impart a charm to a production of merit inferior to this. Signora Giustina Renier Michiel labours to refute some of the accusations of cruelty, perfidy, injustice, &c., brought against the Venetian oligarchy; and her arguments display not only impassioned zeal but extensive erudition, at least in all that relates to her native city. They please if they do not always convince us; and the chief, if not the only, fault we have to find with the fair and noble authoress is, that an apparent desire for compression has too often induced her to relate interesting portions of history so briefly as to render them dry. This, however, is only an occasional fault, and we think we may give a fair average specimen of the work by extracting part of the account of *la Festa dei Matrimonj, o delle Marie*, the festival of Matrimony, or of the Maries, which, if not historically important, is highly illustrative of the early state of society in Venice.

It seems that, in primitive times, the Venetians sought to increase the sanctity of wedlock by restricting the performance of the nuptial ceremony to one day in every year, when gentle and simple, rich and poor, were all married at the same time, in the same church, that of San Pietro di Castello, then called di Olivolo; and the matrimonial festival, for which the most impatient lovers were compelled to wait, took place upon the day of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, in profane parlance the 2d of February. In that ungallant age, when the refined courtesies introduced by chivalry were yet unknown, the brides were expected to repair first to the church, each carrying in her hand a small coffer, called an *arcella*, containing her modest wedding-portion. In the church they were joined by their bridegrooms, families, and friends in procession. The bishop married the several couples simultaneously by one ceremony, and then each bridegroom taking his bride and her *arcella*, all withdrew to spend the remainder of the day in feasting and dancing. Afterwards, to give more dignity, and a more national character to the festival of matrimony, twelve maidens of distinguished

beauty and irreproachable conduct were annually selected from the poorest families, portioned by the nation, decked out in borrowed ornaments, and conducted to the altar in state by the Doge, who thus witnessed the celebration of every Venetian marriage.

In the year 944 the solemn rites of the 2d of February were interrupted in a way that threatened to turn the nuptial rejoicings into the deepest mourning. Some pirates of Trieste concealed themselves and their vessels behind the island of Olivolo in the night of the 1st—

"In the morning, watching their opportunity when the Venetians had thronged into the church for the ceremony, they shoot like a flash of lightning across the canal, spring ashore sword in hand, burst into the church by all the doors at once, seize the brides and their *arcelle* at the foot of the altar, rush back to their barks, fling themselves and their prey into them, and fly with every sail set. What resistance could be offered by the peaceful islanders, armed only with wreaths of laurel, with garlands of flowers?

"The Doge, Pietro Candian III., fired with indignation at this infamous outrage, is the first who darts out of the church, and followed by the youthful bridegrooms, as indeed by all the spectators, hurries through the streets of the city, rousing all the citizens to vengeance. Numbers of barks are suddenly equipped and filled with resolute young men, headed by the Doge himself. Heaven and love declare in favour of so just a cause. The wind swells their sails; they overtake the robbers near Caorle, and perceive them on the strand, absorbed in quarrelling amongst themselves about the division of the women and the booty. Without a moment's delay the Venetians furiously attack the ravishers, and after a sharp struggle, conquer them. Not one can escape. The Doge, still unsated with revenge, ordered the corses to be thrown into the sea, that they might remain unburied, and their friends and kindred be prevented from paying them any honours. To perpetuate the memory of this event he gave the little harbour the name, which it still bears, of *Porto di Donzelle*, or the Maidens' port. The Venetians then again set sail; and the consoled girls were carried home in triumph. No one has lost his bride. All are restored scatheless to the maternal arms. The holy ceremony begins anew; hymns of gratitude mingle with the nuptial chaunt; and the young brides taste more keenly the happiness and pride of belonging to men, who had known how to defend their maiden honour, and to prove themselves worthy of the tenderest affection."

The nation resolved to commemorate this event; and the *casselleri*, a particular description of carpenters, who dwelt in a body in the parish of Santa Maria Formosa, having chiefly contributed to the success of the expedition, were authorized to demand a recompense. They chose one merely honorary, intreating that the Doge should visit their parish church every Purification of the Blessed Virgin. The Doge, wishing, perhaps, that they should ask something more substantially valuable, made difficulties—

"'And if it should rain?'—'We will provide hats to cover you.'—'And if we should be thirsty?'—'We will give you drink.'"

These simple answers were irresistible; the disinterested request was granted without further objection; and as long as the republic endured, that is to say, till the year 1797, (an epoch to which Signora Michiel often painfully refers,) the Doge and the *Signoria* repaired upon every 2d of February to the Church of Santa Maria Formosa, where the

priest, in the name of his parishioners, presented them with hats of gilt straw, Malmsey wine, and oranges.

This was the only permanent part of the festival. As, with the lapse of years, manners changed, the custom of marrying all together once a year was dropped; and then probably the name of *Festa dei Matrimonj* was altered into *Festa delle Marie*. Twelve of the prettiest and best-behaved girls in Venice were now annually chosen as representatives of the stolen brides. They were called, no one knows why, the Maries, were dressed and decorated by their respective parishes, paraded the streets in procession, attended by an immense concourse of people, were received and blessed by the Doge, and entertained by some of the nobility. In process of time these ceremonies lost their purity and innocence, when by order of the government wooden images were substituted for the living maidens as Maries. The populace were exasperated at this innovation; disturbances ensued, and laws were passed to prevent and quell them; until the distress and danger of the republic in 1379, during the war with Genoa, temporarily interrupted all joyous festivals. The Genoese were repulsed and defeated. Fear and suffering were forgotten in Venice, and most interrupted customs were resumed; but this somewhat expensive and now disorderly festival of the Maries was never revived. Its only remaining trace appears in the popular expression of obloquy, *Marie di legno* or wooden Mary, still applied to any woman who, by her coldness, leanness, or stupidity, incurs popular dislike.

Art. XII.—*Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg.* 6me Série. *Sciences Politiques, Histoire, Philologie.* Tome premier. 1re et 2me Livraisons. St. Petersbourg, de l'Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences. 1830. 4to.

The foundation of an academy of sciences in Russia was the achievement with which Peter the Great intended to have crowned his labours for the civilization of his country. His death frustrated the execution of the plan in his lifetime, but it was carried into effect by his successor, Catherine, very shortly afterwards. It commenced its career with an assemblage of members most judiciously chosen, amongst whom the illustrious Euler, and the celebrated historian and geographer, Müller, will long be famous in its annals. The academy has subsequently run a steady, if not a brilliant, course, and has certainly not been altogether deficient in its contributions towards the advancement of the moral and physical sciences in Europe.

The numbers before us contain several papers of considerable interest. There are some Researches, by Herrmann, into the Suicides and Homicides committed in Russia in the years 1819 and 1820, which go through the different governments, and arrive at the conclusion that suicide is most rare in the governments on the lower Volga and in the North of Russia, tolerably frequent in the centre of the empire from the eleva-

tion of the Volga to the Steppes of the South, but very frequent on the Baltic, in Siberia, and particularly on the plateau of the Steppes. From the north and west of Russia to the governments on the lower Volga, homicide appears to be less common than suicide; in the country of the lower Volga robberies and homicides increase, multiply very much in Siberia, and on the plateau of the Steppes are surprisingly numerous. Exact inquiries of this kind in other nations, would go far to determine by comparison the place Russia is entitled to occupy in regard to the morality and civilization of Europe. An Essay of the celebrated political economist, Storch, on the effects of the depreciation of Paper Money is worthy attention, particularly his concluding advice to governments—*that it is not by exciting variations in the value of a paper-currency, that it is to be ameliorated, but by rendering its value as invariable as possible,*—an end which can, in general, be attained without much sacrifice. M. Storch's paper on the question,—whether the progressive Increase of the Capital of a Nation is ever dangerous? is an answer to the affirmative maintained by Sismondi, in his *Nouveaux Principes d'Economie politique*, and appears a satisfactory reply. Herrmann's Statistical Account of the Tartar Population in Tauris is interesting, as are also Schmidt's Dissertation on the Origin of the Language of Thibet, and that of Graeffe on the question, whether the Mammoth of modern naturalists be the same as the fabulous Odontotyrannum of the ancients. Schmidt's paper on Budhaism is written with a special reference to several English publications on that subject, such as Upham's History, and several papers comprised in the Asiatic Transactions. We are constantly meeting with fresh proofs of the unabated zeal for Oriental literature in Russia, and of the strong desire of the government to further its study. But the most valuable portion of the Transactions we are noticing is, probably, Herrmann's Statistical Calculations on Mortality in Russia, particularly in reference to the Mortality of Children, which is treated at great length, and whose details we strongly recommend to the consideration of our writers on population. The mortality of children in Russia is much less than in Sweden, though greater than that of France, a fact which indicates a corresponding degree of national well-being in each country respectively. It is of the extension of a knowledge of the arts of civilized life that Russia now begins to feel the effect, in invigorating both the growth and the energies of her population.

ART. XIII.—1. *Don Juan und Faust eine Tragödie* von Grabbe. (D. Juan and Faustus, a Tragedy by Grabbe.) Frankfurt am Main. 1829. 8vo.

2. *Die Hohenstauffen, ein Cyclus von Tragödien* von Grabbe, *Erster Band; Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa.* (The Hohenstauffens, a Cycle of Tragedies by Grabbe, 1st vol. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa.) Frankfort am Main. 1829. 8vo.

3. *Die Hohenstauffen, ein Cyclus von Tragödien,* von Grabbe, *Zweiter Band; Kaiser Heinrich der Sechste.* (The Emperor, Henry VI. 2d vol.) Frankfort am Main. 1830. 8vo.

4. *Napoleon, oder die Hundert Tage, ein Drama in fünf Aufzügen,* von Grabbe. (Napoleon, or the Hundred Days, a Drama in 5 Acts.) Frankfort am Main. 1831. 8vo.

IN the fifth number of this journal (p. 319) the first of this author's productions, the *Dramatische Dichtungen,* was noticed, principally with reference to the new canons of dramatic criticism which he seemed disposed to set up, and we then dwelt somewhat briefly on the merits and demerits of the historical tragedy and satyrical comedy which these volumes contained, and the promises of future excellence which they displayed. The distinguishing quality which the author exhibited in that work was one which will atone for the want of many others, and without which, in our eyes, every other attribute has little value, namely, power; but it was power unregulated by judgment or taste—it was the strength of a posture-master, not of a Hercules.

In his three next works, written after a considerable lapse of time, (as the *Dramatic Poems* were composed some years prior to their publication,) Grabbe has soared a much higher flight, although even these still betray some coarseness in execution, if not in conception. But their faults are redeemed by great and lofty merits; in *Don Juan* by exuberant fancy and metaphysical truth; in the *Hohenstauffen plays* by a faithful and vigorous portraiture of the feelings and manners of past ages and of mighty men; in both by much true dramatic poetry.

Grabbe has already become so popular in his own country, and seems likely to be so prolific a writer, that we think ourselves justified in tracing his progress, and will with that view say a few words respecting each of the productions enumerated at the head of this article, and give some specimens of his style and talent from the tragedy of *Frederic Barbarossa,* which is decidedly our favourite.

After the publication of his *Dramatische Dichtungen,* which we have already noticed, our dramatist did not immediately enter upon his appropriate career. That work was followed, in 1829, by *Don Juan und Faust,* a strange and wild, but highly poetical attempt to "melt together" in the phraseology of one of his German panegyrists, the "two *Mythuses* of the Northern and the Southern Faustuses:" or, in plain English, to contrast the speculative, self-consuming, philosophizing, temper of the North, with the reckless sensual enjoyment of the South; the thirst for knowledge with the thirst for pleasure, both alike insatiate

and unregulated, both alike leading to guilt, and brought into strong opposition by being woven into one story. In this piece Grabbe first displayed the idealizing spirit of poetry. But it is as a National Historic Dramatist that he excels, and as such we now proceed to consider him.

Grabbe has projected a cycle of eight tragedies upon the achievements, the struggles and the fate of the Hohenstauffen race, who, we need hardly remind our readers, were at least among the greatest of German emperors, and reigned during a most eventful period of German history.* Of the tragedies devoted to the honour of this splendid family, Frederic Barbarossa is the first, and of it we are now to speak. Our author has selected for its subject not the most brilliant, but the most touching period of that emperor's life—his quarrel with his highly favoured friend and cousin, Henry the Lion of Brunswick, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, including one of his wars with the Pope and the Lombards. The impetuous emotions of the Italians are well painted, and contrasted with the rude and honest simplicity of the Germans, as are the lofty regal views and sentiments of the emperor, with the ambition of the vassal too powerful to brook a suzerain. Grabbe has not yet acquired a sufficiently extensive reputation to justify a detailed analysis of this piece, and it is difficult otherwise to do justice to a tragedy, the chief merit of which lies in the dramatic form given to history, and the gradual development and uniform support of historic characters, rather than in scenes or passages of peculiar pathos, passion, or poetry; but we shall endeavour to afford some idea of the author's peculiar talent by extracts from scenes and speeches illustrative of the characters and feelings of the attached but rival kinsmen. Henry has accompanied Frederic into Italy to assist in quelling a revolt of the Milanese; and a soliloquy upon his own power and separate interests, upon the possible evils to himself of aiding to exalt the emperor yet higher, thus concludes.

> "Woe's me! I shudder, for mine adversary
> Is of mankind the noblest. Brighter far
> Than all the jewels in his diadem,
> Shine round his brow strength, magnanimity,
> And fascination. When I look on him,
> High throbs my heart, and to receive him opens
> Wide as triumphal arch. And his 'gainst mine
> Has beat as warmly! Voice of friendship, sound!
> Sound, till thine accents overpower the clamour
> With which the Baltic and the Northern Ocean,
> Across our German valleys and the Alps
> Echoing, recalls the Duke of Saxony
> To his own Northern realm."

In the next scene the princes of the empire are summoned by name to attend the emperor's person;—when the Lion is called, he answers,

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* We may refer such readers, as are unacquainted with German History, to a review of Raumer's History of the Hohenstauffens, in No. VI. of this work, for a short sketch of that dynasty.

" With all his warriors he is here!
Frederic. With pride and power beyond all earthly kings
The bosom of the German emperor
Must swell, beholding men like these around him.—
Who can subdue them?
Henry the Lion. Emperor—mine emperor—
Saxony thou hast given me and Bavaria—
I thank thee for them—yet I fear—thou hast,
I fear, made me too great!
Frederic. Too great? My Henry,
I cannot understand thee, and I will not!
Yet hear me—for the Hohenstauffen nought
Can be too great, and least of all his friend.
Prince Henry. Lord Duke, if thus your greatness burthen you,
Fear it yourself! To us it seems but little.
Frederic. My son, what words from lips of seventeen?"

The revolted Milanese are legally summoned before the princes of the empire assembled at Roncaglia, and not appearing, the emperor pronounces them under the ban of the empire, which means that their lives and property are forfeited, and marches against them. Upon the way the Lion determines to leave his liege lord, and we translate part of Grabbe's version of one of the most memorable scenes in his hero's life. The emperor is arming for battle, when his tender empress, Beatrice of Burgundy, exclaims,

" How proud, and how majestic he stands there!
This earth boasts but a single Hohenstauffen!"

He expresses his longing for the companionship of the Lion, and on his entrance receives him with the words—

" Come, Henry, to mine arms!"
Henry, (*rushing into his arms.*) Oh I am giddy! Beat hearts, beat once more,
And for the last time, beat against each other!
Oh that ye now were crushed! Such death were blessed.
* * * * *
Emperor, I follow thee no more!
Frederic. No more?
* * * * *
How? Dream I? Or does phrenzy through my brain
Drive horrid images? Thou leave me? Now?
When foes unnumbered torrent-like pour round me?
Henry. By thine own fault.
Frederic. Henry, thou dost but jest!
Germany's fame, the emperor's honour, all
The labour of my life is now at stake.
Pray thee be serious!
Henry. I am too much so.
Go home with me!—This paltry Lombardy,
What matters it? In Germany itself
Resides the strength of Germany.
Frederic. So little

Know'st thou the Hohenstauffen's object, Welf?*
Henry. Hah! Welf? That name how seasonably heard!
Frederic. What's Lombardy? I, as the mightiest
Of Europe's sovereigns, am Europe's champion—
'Gainst Roman usurpation I wage war.
And if the Pope raise Lombardy, a bulwark
To guard the Vatican, I must destroy
That bulwark ere I grapple with himself.
Should millions, in this strife for liberty,
Perish, they cannot better fall—and I—
Already see the phœnix from their ashes
That shall in giant strength arise, mankind
To dazzle with his pinions' brilliancy.
Henry. I hear! 'Tis best we part.

* * * * *

Frederic. Fall from the heavens, ye suns! Melt, Alps, like snows
In spring time! Tremble, earth! Vanish in smoke,
Ye rocks! for German truth this day expires!
Henry. Ever with Lion-truth dwells Lion-fury,
And fury, when it rages, knows nor truth,
Nor shackles; crushing all to dust.

* * * * *

Frederic. This world has nought I would not sacrifice
Here to detain thee—see, the emperor
Falls at thy feet, and with dimmed eye implores
Thou would'st not, in this hour of need, desert him!
Henry. Horrible! Up! Up! Up!
Jordanus Truchsess. Duke, soon the crown,
Now humbled at thy feet, shall grace thy brow!
Albert of Roden. Truchsess, I tremble lest its weight destroy him!
Henry. How pride and anguish in my bosom storm!—
Here, all the injuries the Welfs e'er suffered
Lie expiated!—I pray thee, emperor, rise;
Thou humblest thee in vain—thou grievest me—
Yet mightest thou have known I'm resolute,
And not th' impending downfall of the world
Can alter my resolve.
Beatrice. My lord and husband,—
Pardon my faltering accents—rise thou up!
God will afford thee aid, when in the name
Of this day thou implor'st it.
Frederic. Say'st thou so,
Gentle one? And with scalding tears of wrath?
They kindle me, and as the lightning's flash
I rise in tempest—Soldiers, seize on Brunswick!
Henry. Woe to the man who touches him! He's armed,
And thousands wait upon his call—Here, Welf!
Frederic. Here, Waiblingen!"

These war cries bring in the followers of both, when Beatrice prevents a battle by urging the German emperor and duke not to destroy each other for the amusement of the Lombards—Frederic observes,

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* Welf and Waiblingen are the original German form of the Italianized Guelph and Ghibelin.

" I've ever thought that with high tenderness
Must dwell true wisdom—Thou'rt i'the right, Burgundian."

And so the kinsmen part.

The desertion of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria occasions the loss of the battle, and the emperor makes peace with the Pope and the Lombards, that he may return to Germany, and put down his too powerful and disobedient vassal. The duke does not appear at the diet, to which he is duly summoned in legal form, whereupon the ban of the empire is pronounced against him, his duchies and hereditary dominions are divided among other princes, and the emperor leads an army to execute the sentence. In the battle the rivals long avoid each other; but when the Lion has killed most of the princes who had attended the emperor, the latter says,

" Only the single combat of the chiefs
Can end this battle—Hah! The Lion's traces!
Dead lie here Mainz, there Austria, here Poland,
And there Bohemia, painted with their blood,
Shattered their kingly diadems—I'm nigh
The Lion's lair!—He's here!—Oh, Henry, Lion!
How we have loved each other!
* * * * *
Henry. Oh, Frederic, Frederic, my blood is nothing!
Scratch me with but the poorest steel, it flows—
See'st thou this tear—From that deep source it gushes
Which eye beholds not—and for thee it flows,
Flows to the memory of happier days!"

Their amicable effusions are interrupted by cries from behind the scenes of,

" Here, Welf! Here, Waiblingen!
Henry. Mark'st thou those cries?
Call me not enemy, for in those voices
Destiny rolls her thunders over us."

They then fight; the emperor conquers, and permits the duke to leave Germany secure from persecution.

These extracts may serve to illustrate the faults as well as the talent of Grabbe, for we think every reader of German history will agree with us that the poet has sacrificed much of the real pathos which the stern Barbarossa's tenderness for Henry sheds over the tale of their contests, to a desire of dramatic effect, and of grouping together distant events, in order to avoid extending his tragedy over a great number of years, a sin which he bitterly censures in Shakspeare.

Henry the Sixth is equally good with Frederic Barbarossa, and the Germans, Normans and Italians are well contrasted. But the play is less pleasing, inasmuch as Henry's character is cold, and destitute of the heroism that elevates his father's. His disposition is, we think, happily intimated in the few words he utters in one of the preceding extracts. We observe with satisfaction that in these three pieces Grabbe's anxiety to avoid the cloying sweetness of the uniform iambic measure,—which in his *Gothland* produced intolerable hardnesses, and lines of all

lengths, and, we will not say of all metres, but so completely trochaic as, appearing suddenly in blank verse, to perplex the reader and wound the ear,—has gradually softened down, till it no longer exceeds the limits of an agreeable variety. The obscenity, intimated by the blanks in *Gothland*, is here likewise discarded, perhaps from the author's finding that its necessary omission weakened the dialogue.

Our impression is, that had we opened Grabbe's first or last work before the others we should not have read a second; this applies more strongly to his *Napoleon* than to the *Duke of Gothland*, which, amidst enormous faults, bears marks of talent and power, whilst *Napoleon* appears to us devoid of both, and resembles rather the letter-press for a shewy *spectacle*, such as was presented last season on the London stage, than a work of art. A faithful portrait of French mobs, of French and Prussian camps, and a caricature of the French court, it may perhaps offer us; but even these are trite and bald. There is no ideal colouring, no imaginative effluence breathed over the vulgar common-place of real life, whether high or low. The drama ends with the battle of Waterloo, of which Napoleon and Blucher are the heroes, the Duke of Wellington being evidently not so fortunate as to enjoy our author's good graces or admiration. The piece is in prose, and presents a few of the suspicious blanks of *Gothland*. We could fancy that *The Hundred Days* had been written in hours of *dyspepsia;* else the crude daub would sadly shake the hopes we had conceived, from Grabbe's progressive improvement, that the remainder of the Hohenstauffen Cycle would entitle him to rank high as a dramatist, and to claim at our hands a more elaborate review. We will not actually resign these hopes, but he must exert himself strenuously to efface the heavy recollection of his *Napoleon*, if he wishes to establish his reputation in this more critical country, as well as in indulgent Germany.

Art. XIV.—*Einige Worte über Handel und Industrie in Deutschland.* (A few words on Commerce and Industry in Germany.) Munich. 1830. 8vo.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact value of commerce and industry in Germany. The tariffs of duties differ in different states; the accounts of exports and imports are not kept in a corresponding manner, and the contraband trade is carried on openly. In some small states the sovereigns themselves set the example of being purchasers of goods in foreign countries. We know enough, however, to be satisfied that the industry of Germany cannot be compared with that of Great Britain or France. The author states, that the contribution to the expenses of the war paid by France after 1815, was made up to France in five years, by the sale of the numerous articles of elegance and fashion for which Germany is dependent on her. Germany only manufactures objects of necessity; but objects of luxury and cost are imported from France and

England, the Germans being content to pay for them extravagantly high prices. The author, perhaps, depreciates Germany rather too much, when he pretends that the value of property in Bavaria has fallen one half since 1815, whilst in France it has risen in the same proportion. We doubt whether prices have fallen in Bavaria so considerably as is stated, and are sure that they have not risen to such an extent in France. For a few years prices were rising, it is true, but it is notorious that, subsequently, all kinds of French property have been greatly depreciated.

The author may be right in saying that the want of capital, of shipping, and of encouragement, presents great obstacles to commerce, though he thinks the time is come for German industry to take some spring. America has need of many of her products and commodities, and is a market that ought not to be neglected. Manufacturing establishments should be encouraged, schools of industry be founded, the roads improved, canals multiplied, and uniformity established between the various monetary systems, and those of the *Douanes*, which may still be considered necessary for the protection of the trade of Germany against the competition of England and France. The work contains comparative tables of the tariffs of France, Prussia, and Bavaria, and is the production of a man of good judgment, and clear ideas, who has, however, in some instances admitted without due caution, the facts and calculations from which he draws his conclusions.

ART. XV.—*Discours sur l'Incrédulité, et sur la certitude de la Révélation Chrétienne.* Par l' Evêque de Strasbourg. 8vo. Strasbourg. 1831.

WHEN writers of the Popish and Protestant communions make common cause, it is difficult to imagine that they have not reason on their side. The Bishop of Strasburg is known as a controversialist, and, as far as his situation will allow, as a liberal and enlightened man. In opposition to Faber, he endeavoured to overcome "the Difficulties of Romanism:" he now appears as the advocate of the great cause of Christianity, from a conviction of the dangerous prevalence of infidel opinions; but a member of his faith can never be the most effective champion of that cause when he treats the peculiar dogmas of his church, and the doctrines of the "Universal Catholic Church," as entitled to the same reverence. *Vous ne croyez au Pape*—is a charge always confounded with disbelief in the fundamental articles of religion; and no ingenuity of argument or force of reasoning can support, in the estimation of an impartial inquirer, this most heterogeneous mass of divine truth and human error. Bellarmine and Bossuet failed in the attempt, and it is not to be supposed that a weight which they were unable to bear could be upheld by a secondary genius. Yet the present volume contains much that is judicious and sensible, and invites the serious reflection to which it is entitled by an elegant, yet forcible style. As the Foreign Quarterly Review but rarely ventures on theological subjects, we shall waive the consideration of arguments with which we trust our readers are familiar; as, to say the truth, most of them are

only old friends with new faces. We are, however, sorry to be obliged to notice an instance of the pertinacity with which writers of the author's communion revive an obsolete and exploded slander, when it favors the interests of their Church. Fifteen years after the death of Butler, Bishop of Durham, the distinguished author of "the Analogy of Religion, natural and revealed," an anonymous contributor to a daily paper (the St. James's Chronicle) asserted that this truly excellent man and pious Christian had died in the faith of the Church of Rome. Secker, who had been the intimate friend of Butler from his boyhood to the time of his decease, and who at that time filled the see of Canterbury, refuted this "gross and scandalous falsehood" (to use his own words) in the most conclusive manner, from the writings of the Bishop of Durham himself, from the evidence of his public and private life, and from the testimony of his friends. After the lapse of seventy-nine years from the prelate's death, the calumny against him is revived in the volume before us, on the authority of a Mr. William Sheldon, who, "at the age of seventy-eight, declared in Paris on the 17th of May, 1822, that when he was a student at the College of St. Omer, between the years 1757 and 1762, he heard it said that Butler, Bishop of Durham, had died a Catholic, and subsequently, about 1769 or 1770, when his father and Dr. Sharpe, the Master of the Temple, were speaking on the subject, the latter declared that it might assuredly be believed." It is with unfeigned regret that we see a respectable prelate like the Bishop of Strasburg affording a practical illustration of a line of Lord Byron's—"Dead scandals form good subjects for dissection."

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. XVI.

DENMARK.

M. Cohen, a learned Danish Jew, has completed a new Concordance to the Hebrew Scriptures, which has this advantage over those of Buxtorf and Calasius, that it is pointed throughout, and includes the proper names and particles. The author is supported by the King of Denmark, and a part of the MS., which is most beautifully written, is in the hands of a bookseller at Leipzig, who will proceed with the publication as soon as permitted by more favourable times.

Professor Rask, the celebrated linguist, is preparing a new Arabic Grammar and Reading Book for the press, and it is expected they will be published in the course of this year. The Grammar is on a new plan, by which the structure of this difficult language is assimilated in a greater degree to that of the European languages, and by this means, it is hoped, the acquisition of it will be much facilitated to beginners.

FRANCE.

The late M. Lemontey, left at his death a great work on the History of France during the 18th Century, which the late government, in imitation of the suspicious and inconsistent policy of the imperial government, prevented from appearing. The manuscript, at the author's death, was sealed up; the revolution of July broke the seals, and this work, which has been long expected, will soon make its appearance. A very powerful interest attaches itself to this publication, as the author, by means of ministerial authorizations, was allowed to draw his materials from different depots of the national archives, as well as the foreign ones to which the French victories afforded him access.

After an absence of four years, M. de Humboldt has returned to Paris, and has proved that, during his late travels in Asia, neither his activity nor his zeal for science have in any degree diminished. He has already communicated to the Institute numerous memoirs and detached notices of unfinished works on this subject, and we hope the whole will be embodied, with as little delay as possible, in some *cheap* and *accessible* form. During this journey M. de Humboldt traversed a space of more than 4,500 leagues. It is remarkable, that during 1829 no less than four scientific expeditions were made in this part of the ancient continent, viz, that of M. de Humboldt; that of Parrot, junr. to the summit of Mount Ararat, which he found covered with beds of obsidian lava, and rising to an elevation of 452 metres above Mont Blanc; that of M. Kupfer to the trachilic mountain of Elbrouz in the Caucasus, which rises to a height

of 5000 metres; and lastly, the great undertaking of Messrs. Hansteen of Christiana, and Ermaun of Berlin, undertaken for the purpose of determining the line of magnetic influence from Petersburg to Kamtschatka. M. de Humboldt has presented to the Institute many rare and some hitherto unknown minerals, which he collected during his journey, and has announced that M. Rose, the companion of his journey, is engaged on an important work on the gold found in veins and alluvial beds in the Ural mountains, a chain which contains in its ridges alluvial deposits of gold and platina, from the 53d to considerably beyond the 61st degree of latitude.

The *French Scientific Expedition to the Morea* will speedily begin to be published. The work will form three volumes in folio, and will appear by livraisons every six weeks, from the 15th of September, until completed. The plates will be engraved by the ablest artists, and the whole, it is hoped, will form a work worthy of the subject. A detailed Prospectus may be had of the publishers of this Review.

Peter Du Moulin, one of the most distinguished pastors of the reformed Church in France, during the 16th and 17th centuries, left an autograph memoir, or rather collection of anecdotes, behind him, which is now in the hands of M. Marron of Paris, and will shortly be published.

A series of letters on the state of Public Instruction in Germany has been addressed by the celebrated Victor Cousin to Count Montalivet, the French Minister of Public Instruction. M. Cousin has travelled through the most enlightened portions of Germany, and seen the system in operation, and is consequently well entitled to sit in judgment upon it. The result, as might be expected, is highly favourable. M. Cousin's letters have appeared in the *Revue de Paris.*

Champollion's Antiquities of Egypt and Nubia. The long-expected work of Messrs. Champollion and Rosellini, who were commissioned, by the French and Tuscan governments, to explore the remains of ancient art in Egypt and Nubia, is now at last about to see the light; and we can have little hesitation in affirming, that a more important work in this branch of research has not appeared for many years, nor one to which public attention has been directed with greater interest and curiosity.

The discovery of the hieroglyphical alphabet occurred most opportunely for throwing a new and unexpected light on a period of history hitherto buried in almost impenetrable obscurity. Facts of the highest importance now fill up the space which was formerly a blank in the records of our species. The application of the new alphabet to the innumerable inscriptions that cover the edifices of Egypt and Nubia, was a task of infinite labour and pains; and its successful termination, in bringing to light the records of buried ages, cannot but agitate the curious student with inexpressible emotions of wonder and delight. The editors congratulate the public on the near accomplishment of their wishes —to see the results of this memorable expedition laid before the world with all the care and splendour befitting so munificent an enterprize. The following will be the plan and order of publication. It is proposed to exhibit *a regular view of the ancient state of Egyptian civilization, re-established on the irresistible testimony of the original and contemporary monuments of the events recorded.*

The work will consist of three principal sections, containing, in their totality,

I. 400 plates, of which, at least 100, will be coloured.

II. 10 volumes of text, illustrated and adorned with occasional plates.

The First Section, relating to the *Civil State* of Egypt, will contain from 136 to 140 plates, chiefly coloured; presenting a great number of subjects taken from the tombs or public edifices, and relating to all the details of the civil and domestic life of the ancient Egyptians.

The Second Section will contain the *Historical Monuments* relative to the reigns of the Pharaohs and the Greek dynasty of the Lagides, arranged chronologically, from the most ancient period to the reign of Cæsarion, son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra; this important series of bas-reliefs and paintings will consist of about 200 plates.

In the text, explanatory of these plates, the various accounts in the Greek and Latin writers, relative to the ancient history of Egypt, will be compared with the facts attested by the original monuments. This comparison will necessarily produce those new lights and that certainty so ardently desired by the student of history.

The Third Section is intended to embrace the monuments of the *Religion and Public Worship* of ancient Egypt, and will contain about 30 plates relative either to the religion of Egypt in general, or to the particular worship of every city of which any monuments yet exist. The text of this section will contain a notice of all the temples still standing in the valley of the Nile; the precise period of the foundation of each will be determined, and that of the restorations which they have successively experienced. Eighteen additional plates will exhibit an important series of *Astronomical Plates*, taken from the temples, or from the ceilings of the royal tombs.

The plates will be of large atlas size, partly engraved and partly lithographed; the text will be in octavo, and, as already noticed, will be in ten volumes, each containing from 400 to 500 pages. Editions will be published in French and Italian; both will be exactly similar, and of the same price.

The plates will be divided into 40 livraisons, the first of which will appear in January next, and the succeeding numbers monthly. The text will be published in volumes, or half volumes, as the illustration of the plates may require.

The work is published in Paris by Messrs. Treuttel and Würtz, Dubois and Didot, and subscriptions are received in London by the Publishers of this Review, where also a detailed prospectus may be had.

A list of subscribers' names will be printed at the head of the work.

An interesting Report has just been presented to the Minister of Public Works in France by M. Quinet, for the purpose of procuring the assistance of government in publishing many epic poems of the twelfth century in the French language. The MSS. are in the Royal Library and in that of the Arsenal, where they have hitherto remained unknown. These poems consist of many thousand verses, and would fill fifty folio volumes. M. Quinet considers them as the popular reflection of the ancient Celtic traditions, in regard to the religious and historical monuments of the Celtic provinces. When the Christian clergy became established in France, their first attempts at proselytism brought them in contact with the Druidical system; and it was in this conflict that they became acquainted with what then constituted the intellectual and religious life of the nation. Hence the origin of these poems, which were intended to popularize the new dominion of Christianity, and at the same time to gratify the taste of the people for accounts of the manners and customs, the history and antiquities of their ancestors. The editor intends commencing with the publi-

cation of *Parceval*, a poem consisting of 20,000 verses, and evidently the production of a great and accomplished writer. It will be in two volumes, to which will be prefixed, an extensive *Essay on the Origin of the Celtic Traditions, and their connection with those of the East and the North.* The whole *Rapport* is well worthy of attention, and we sincerely trust that the government of *Louis Phillippe* will show itself not less friendly to the promotion and encouragement of literature than that of *Charles X.*, which, with all its errors, afforded a *systematic* support to many most splendid and meritorious productions. We fear, that to the withdrawal of this support the non-appearance, for many months, of the *Journal des Savans*, and the *Bulletin Universel* of *Ferussac*, is to be attributed.

The present government of France has set honestly to work to remedy the evils of the old system of education in that country. In a report just presented to the King on this subject, by the Minister of Public Instruction, it is remarked that the great events of 1830 have communicated a happy impulse to the public mind, and have produced, in all the departments, a laudable emulation to impart the blessings of elementary instruction to the rising generation. A new era has commenced for the youth of France. The old government did not disguise its aversion to educating the people; and lent all its efforts, in particular, to destroy the most efficient mode of communicating instruction to large numbers—the Schools of Mutual Instruction. The present report announces that the old schools on that system that were shut up are now being re-opened, and that new ones are starting up in every direction. The Report then proceeds to give the state of the country with regard to its schools in 1829 under the old government, as the basis of a comparison with the Report for 1831, which will be published next year. It appears that there were 38,135 communes or parishes in France, 24,148 possessed schools, and 13,984 were destitute of them. On this deficiency the Report observes, that the schools cannot be divided equally among the parishes. Among these the richest and the most populous have a greater or less number to themselves, and hence the general share is less, which accounts for the great number of communes that are destitute. The number of Catholic schools was 19,618, the Protestant 904, the Jewish 62, and the Schools of Mutual Instruction amounted to 804, which last are said to have been the feeble remains that escaped the general proscription of such schools by the bigoted government of Charles X. The new Report, it is confidently affirmed, will present a cheering contrast to this state of things. The total number of scholars in winter was 1,372,206, in summer, 681,005; the number of children (boys) from five to twelve years was 2,401,178.

GERMANY.

Raumer, the historian of the Hohenstauffens, is engaged in a second great historical work, the History of Europe during the last three Centuries.

In the constitutional and protestant kingdom of Hanover, when a clergyman becomes a contributor to any journal, although published in another country, he is obliged to submit his articles previously to the general consistory to which he belongs for its approbation. Vide *Allgemeine Kirchen-Zeitung*, 1831, No. 35.

Since July last, the Journal entitled *Inland*, published at Munich, has appeared under the title of the German Tribune, (*die Deutsche Tribune,*) and its principal object is the defence and propagation of constitutional principles.

Baron Odeleben, the author of a work on Napoleon's German campaign of 1813, has recently published a *History of the French Revolution since* 1789, for the use of the lower classes. The idea is good, but the execution rather indifferent.

A *Review of Reviews* is announced to appear at Leipzig.

The celibacy of the clergy has of late years been the subject of much discussion in Germany, and has been warmly attacked by two Catholic priests—M. Reichlin, Dean of the Theological Faculty at Friburgh, and M. Theiner, of Breslaw, (the supposed author of a remarkable work on Catholicism in Silesia, which was reviewed in an early number of this Journal,) who has written a work in three vols. 8vo. in which the subject is discussed in all its bearings.

Hofrath Böttiger, of Dresden, has been elected a member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris.

The "Atlas of Europe," now publishing by Herder, of Friburg, is not only a chef-d'œuvre of the lithographic art, but a truly stupendous undertaking, as it is to consist of 220 maps, on a very large scale. The same scale, however, will not be observed throughout, as the less populous and cultivated territories will be upon a smaller, and the more important countries on a still larger. Each number contains four maps, and is published at twelve francs, so that the price of the entire work will amount to 660 francs. The plates are worked in two colours, black and red, all the physical features being indicated by the former, and the towns, roads, political boundaries, &c. by the latter.

Der Todtentanz, a poem illustrative of, and illustrated by a series of designs from Holbein's celebrated "Dance of Death," is a production that confers honour upon the rising name of Ludwig Bechstein, who has here not only followed his original *passibus æquis*, but expounded his meaning and pursued his ideas with extraordinary felicity.

Leo von Klenze, one of the most celebrated architects in Germany, has commenced a work illustrative of the principal edifices designed and executed by himself. The first number, consisting of six folio plates, is entirely devoted to the description of the Glyptotheca, at Munich, and contains a plan, elevation, general view, three sections, and various details of that beautiful and interesting structure; besides which the interior and its decorations will be further illustrated in the following number. This work will form an admirable companion to that of Schinkel, who has embellished the Prussian capital as Klenze has done that of Bavaria, with some of the most original and classical edifices of modern times. We may here mention that a small volume by Schorn, entitled *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, has lately been published, which gives an account of all the statues and other pieces of antiquity in the Munich museum.

Another highly important and interesting work that has recently appeared on the subject of architecture, is Boisserée's *Denkmaler der Baukunst*, which is intended to be completed in twelve parts. The author designs it as an accompaniment to his magnificent publication on Cologne Cathedral, showing the progress of architecture in the territory of the Lower Rhine, from the 7th to the 12th century, the period of what the Germans term the *Vor-Gothisch* style, or the intermediate style between the latest Roman and that of which the pointed arch is the prevailing and indicial feature.

Besides many periodical publications, monthly and quarterly reviews, devoted to theology, there are several *Gazettes* published at present in Germany exclusively devoted to the communication of news respecting church affairs and religion. At the head of these, in date as well as in merit, stands the *Universal Church Gazette*, published at Darmstadt by Dr. Zimmerman, a Protestant clergyman and moderately rational divine, who is as impartial as it is possible for one to be whose sentiments are decided and so freely stated. This publication was begun in 1822, and soon found many imitators. Many Catholic Journals have since appeared in succession. The *Friend of Religion*, published at Wurtzburg, now appears under the title of *Universal Friend of Religion and the Church*, and under the editorship of Dr. Benkert, fights stoutly for the antiquity of the old faith in a style pretty similar to that adopted by its namesake at Paris. The *Catholic Ecclesiastical Gazette*, published at Aschaffenburg, is edited on the same principles. Two other Journals defend the Romish faith on moderate principles—the *Ecclesiastical Gazette for Catholic Germany* and the *Constitutional Ecclesiastical Gazette*, published in Bavaria. But if we meet with divines in the bosom of the Catholic church who resemble Protestants in their independent tone and their opposition to every thing that would assimilate the present times to the middle ages, we find, on the other hand, Protestant divines, who are as hostile to free inquiry as the staunchest Catholic, and whose efforts to impede the progress of public opinion are unceasing. The organ of this party is the *Evangelical Ecclesiastical Gazette*, edited by Dr. Henstenberg of Berlin. As it always happens that one extravagance leads to another, the ultra-rationalist party are no longer contented with Dr. Zimmerman's Journal, and have started another in opposition to it. From Dr. Zimmerman's, however, the most impartial information may be gained as to the views and proceedings of all parties.

Necrology.—*Klinger*, the romance writer and dramatist, died at St. Petersburgh, in February last. He was born at Frankfort in 1753, and took an active part in the regeneration of German literature which took place about fifty years ago. His complete works were published at Königsberg in 1819, in twelve vols.

Matthisson, the German poet, who ranks second to none for refined and tender fancy and exquisite elegance of style, died at Worlitz, in Dessau, on March 12, in the 71st year of his age.

Augustus *La Fontaine*, the popular German novelist, whose productions have been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe, and were even admitted into the Imperial library at St. Cloud, died at Halle on April 20th.

Died at Berlin, on May 27th, Christian Adam *Gaspari*, Professor of Geography and Statistics in the University of Königsberg. He was

born in 1752, and was the author of many works on Geography, and, among others, of *Manuals*, which have frequently been re-printed in Germany, and have greatly contributed to diffuse a taste for that science.

ITALY.

Two new historical romances have recently appeared at Milan; the first by the author of *Sibilla Odaleta*, is entitled *Folchetto Malaspina, Romanzo Storico del Secolo XII.*, in three volumes; the second is *Uberto Visconti, Romanzo Storico risguardante Milano a' tempi di Barnabo e Gian-Galeazzo Visconti*, in one volume, by Giovanni Campiglio. They are both imitations of the favourite *Promessi Sposi* of Manzoni.

An Italian translation of the celebrated German *Conversations-Lexicon*, with alterations to suit it to the meridian of Italy, is now in the press. Our readers are probably aware that an English *rifacciamento* of this work is now publishing at Philadelphia and in this country, and that a French one has been for some time in preparation at Paris.

A *History of Poland*, in Italian, with geographical and chronological maps, and coloured plates of costume, &c., is announced to appear at Florence, by Dr. Bernard Zaydler, a native Pole, from an article by whom, in the *Antologia*, we extracted some interesting statistical details relative to Poland, in the 14th Number of this Journal.

POLAND.

Zamek Kaniowski, or the Castle of Kaniow, by a young poet of the name of Gozczynsky, is a tale somewhat à la Byron, slightly sketched and by no means free from considerable defects, yet at the same time giving earnest of much genuine poetic feeling and real power. Considered individually, many of the scenes are well conceived, and not less ably worked up; but for want of a proper connection between them, the story is not so intelligible as could be wished, or rather, is too vague and obscure in several passages. As to moral, the author does not seem to have given himself much trouble on that score, for we can hardly suppose he intended to convey any. Orlika, a young Kozak maiden, after rejecting the suit of the aged but wealthy governor of the castle, at length consents to become his bride, in order to save the life of her brother. On learning this event, her former lover, the Hetman Niebaba, determines to revenge her perfidy, by inciting the inhabitants of Kaniow to insurrection, and attacking the castle. Orlika hearing the tumult of the besiegers, stabs her husband while he is asleep, hoping, perhaps, to be speedily released by Niebaba; but if so, her object is frustrated, for the gallant perishes under the walls of the fortress. There is nothing particularly edifying in all this—something, on the contrary, of more than ordinary absurdity; nevertheless this strange and rather meagre *canevas* is embellished with fancy, if not always with discretion or taste.

RUSSIA.

The year 1830 was memorable in Russia for the destruction of *Periodicals*, as well as for the ravages of the *Cholera*. Indeed the mortality among the former was in a much greater proportion than that caused by the latter. No fewer than nine journals terminated their existence with 1830, six of which were published in Moscow, viz.—1st, the patriarch of all the Russian journals, that dedicated to History, Statistics and Geography, in the fortieth year of its existence; 2d, the patriarch of all the critical journals of Russia, the European Mercury, commenced by Karamsin, in its twenty-eighth year; 3d, the New Magazine for Natural History, edited by Dwigubski; 4th, the Moscow Mercury, edited by Pogddin; 5th, the Athenæum, by Palon; and 6th, the Galatheer, by Reitsch. As some compensation, however, for this a stagnation in the *trade*, several new ones have started with the present year, among which the *Telescope* holds the first rank. With this year also commenced, at St. Petersburgh, a new German journal, intended to afford other nations an insight into Russian literature, geography and history, and also to inform the Russians of similar matters from abroad; but the editor appears to be incompetent to the task.

The Russian Chamberlain, Demidov, in order to promote the interest of literature and science in his native country, has resolved to set aside, every year till his death, the sum of 20,000 rubles, to be awarded in sums of 5000 rubles to such writers as shall have enriched Russian literature, during the preceding year, with some work of distinguished merit. The Academy of Science will decide on the merits of the proposed works. M. Demidov has also, by a subsequent act, confirmed the 20,000 rubles for the same purpose for twenty-five years after his death, and added a further yearly sum of 5000 rubles for the printing of the MSS. that may be judged worthy of the prize. Should this latter sum not be found sufficient for its object, the emperor has engaged, at the express request of the donor, to make up the deficiency from the public treasury, and has given his entire sanction to the noble and patriotic views of M. Demidov.

Two works lately published on *Romanticism*, discuss the subject very differently: the one is a formal dissertation by a Dr. Hadezhdin—*De Origine, Natura, et Fatis Poeseos quæ Romantica audit;* the other is an Essay on the Tragedy of the Greeks, the French and the Romanticists, and professes to be written by a "land-surveyor" of the name of Tovarnitzky, which is, however, merely a *nom de guerre;* and the "land-surveyor" ironically commends *classicism*, as conducting directly to the Temple of Fame; while *romanticism*, as he says, leads us only into "the chaotic quagmires in which Calderon and Shakspeare floundered about." It is a lively and clever piece of satire, and may, we hope, be of service to his countrymen, who have hitherto been slavish imitators of French models in their dramatic compositions, and, like all imitators, have copied more of the defects than of the merits of their originals. A more manly and liberal spirit of criticism, however, is now beginning to manifest itself even in Russia; and, in fact, some of their journals savour not only of literary, but of political liberalism, and occasionally indulge in a tone which is sufficient to convince us that the censorship of the press must be rather nominal than real.

A small volume of miscellaneous pieces, in prose and verse, by Mad. Lisitzin, is distinguished by the superior purity and elegance of its style, and by the taste and feeling it displays. Of the twenty-nine poetical pieces it contains, the greater part are elegiac compositions.

Pushkin has published another chapter of his poetical romance of *Eugenius Onægin*, which, although somewhat too much a repetition of the same strain that pervades its predecessors, contains many beautiful passages, and many touches of genuine poetry.

Feodor Glinka has likewise given the public a new literary production, of a rather different stamp from any of his former ones, but well calculated to add to his reputation—namely, a narrative and descriptive poem, entitled *Corelia, or the Captivity of the Empress Martha Ivanovna Romanov.*

The prolific pen of Prince Shakowsky, the author of *Aristophanes*, and numerous other theatrical pieces, has dramatized the story of Zagoskine's *Yuri Miloslavsky*, which has been performed with much success both at St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Two posthumous volumes from the pen of Venevitinov, will, while they excite admiration for the refined sensibility and the generous enthusiasm they breathe, awaken regret at the premature fate of one who, had he lived, would doubtless have become an ornament to the literature of his country. As it is, we can enjoy only the blossoms of his talent, for he died at the early age of twenty-two, on the 15th (27th) March, 1827; yet these blossoms are fraught with a freshness of imagination and feeling that might not have been found in his more matured productions, had he lived to cultivate his talents; and they acquire an additional but melancholy attraction from the presentiments the youthful poet frequently betrays of his approaching destiny. There is one poem in particular which seems to be painfully prophetic of his early death, and to refer to his own feelings, where he says,

> " Existence was to him a golden dream
> All fraught with rapture, and like rapture—brief."

Venevitinov, indeed, possessed, within himself the true elements of poetry, and all those finer qualities that constitute the genuine poet—feelings both ardent and amiable, keen sensibility, a warm sympathy with natural and moral beauty, and an innate delicacy of taste. The second volume, published some time after the first, contains his prose pieces, which exhibit him to hardly less advantage, whether as an elegant writer, or as a judicious and ingenious critic.

SPAIN.

A *Dictionary of Marine Terms* has recently appeared at Madrid, with translations in French, English and Italian of all the Spanish expressions.

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